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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this annual volume is to provide a forum for the exchange of ideas concerning international and intercultural human relations. The 16 chapters include discussion of language and information processing in relation to intercultural communication; guidelines for intercultural research; the effects of ethnocentrism on intercultural communication; intercultural education for the managers of multinational corporations; a model of group development for intercultural communication workshops; analysis of the rhetoric of agitation and control in Latin America; cross-cultural interference in teacher/student communication in United States schools; satellite television's implications for the Third World nations; nonverbal communication in Thailand; multidimensional scaling of cultural processes in Mexico, South Africa, and the United States; recent literature in international intercultural communication; and national and international conferences relating to international and intercultural communication. (KS)

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## EDITOR'S NOTES

There is a certain feeling of satisfaction which, I am sure, anyone experiences when he looks at the realization of a hope, or a dream. The **International and Intercultural Communication Annual** is by no means out of its infancy. But it exists. A few years ago it was nothing more than the hope of a group of scholars who were convinced that the increasing importance of international and intercultural human relations called for the development of a specific, specialized periodic publication.

Looking at the first issue and statements I made in introducing the **Annual** to its readers, I am certain that some of the hopes I expressed then have not been realized. But, after returning from several trips to different parts of the world, and conferences with colleagues in a number of different nations, I am more convinced than ever that we need a consistent source of encouragement, an arena for the exchange of ideas, a publication which combines the practical aspects of our interests with the very best of our academic capabilities.

To me the pages of the first three issues represent a great deal more than the written expression of scholarly effort. They represent friendships which have formed, insights which have been gained. More than that, they are an indication that both older and younger scholars, teachers and practitioners from a variety of academic disciplines are keenly aware of the multiple challenges which result when human beings reach across the boundaries of culture and political entities to accomplish those things which they consider important and meaningful.

One of the messages which has become clearer to me as time goes by is that I need to develop the tolerance or the ability to live with, accept, and even be grateful for the diversity of human experiences and achievements. It is clear that the approaches which the natural sciences have provided us, only resulted in limited insights into human behavior. Now it appears that a generation of scholars is in the ascendancy which insists on using every available means, every available methodology, every available philosophical basis to learn more about human beings and the interactional processes which are so vital to their existence. I personally welcome that diversity of approach and insight. I hope that the pages of this issue, as well as the pages of earlier **Annuals**, reflect at least some of the new, exciting, and insightful directions which many scholars around the world are taking.

It is also satisfying to know that we are more than ever "talking to each other"; that is, that we have begun in many meaningful ways to bring together specialists from different disciplines who have discovered the value and contribution of the work of others. Hopefully, we will learn from our past mistakes in defining our human efforts so narrowly and with such fervor that conciliation or cross–fertilization became almost impossible.

There have been those who have actively encouraged these early efforts at providing a periodical, and I have expressed my gratitude to them in the past. No one at this point has discouraged, attacked, or destroyed. Thus the **Annual** has begun under a "good star" and it should continue to merit the encouragement of those who not only wish it well, but will make certain that they contribute to its future success. There are enough of us by now who

have developed the professional and personal maturity to take pleasure in building rather than in undermining or tearing down. I especially appreciate the encouragement of administrators at Pepperdine University who made it financially possible, and without whose help this venture would never have come about at this early date.

I also appreciate the encouragement and cooperation of colleagues in already existing organizations who, rather than feeling threatened by a "newcomer" in the field, understood that there was room for "one more." I also sincerely hope that my colleagues in SCA will continue to feel throughout the years to come that their faith in this effort has been justified.

If there is one thing I would wish for the future, it is that each new generation of editors and writers will keep vigorous and determined watch over the initial dream of a publication which should do more than serve limited, self-seeking interests, when instead, the entire field of communication needs to make vital contributions to the welfare of mankind.

Fred L. Casmir
Editor
December 1976
Malibu, California

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# LANGUAGE AND INFORMATION PROCESSING: AN APPROACH TO INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

**Duane D. Pettersen**

## Introduction

Within the last decade Intercultural Communication has received extensive interest and attention. A number of articles and texts have appeared with the label "intercultural" or "cross-cultural" in their titles. One of the most recent and exciting texts[1] focuses on six primary concepts for studying intercultural communication. They are language, nonverbal codes, attitudinal and value orientations, thought-patterning (information processing or cognitive complexity), interpreter/translator as mediator between cultures, and the role of the intercultural communicator as persuader.

Although the present article focuses on the role of language in intercultural communication, similar concepts are relevant. Condon and Yousef's concept of language is disected into linguistics, psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, and ethnolinguistics, then re-intergrated via the concept of information processing. Information processing is similar to at least three of the concepts listed by Condon and Yousef: attitudinal and value orientations, thought-patterning as it affects and is affected by individual communicators, and the level of processing of the interpreter/translator as mediator among cultural communicative styles.

Communication is relevant to three of the Condon and Yousef concepts – those of nonverbal codes, attitudinal and value orientations and the role of the intercultural communicator as a persuader. Thus the present article parallels the work of Condon and Yousef and reinforces a conceptual integration of the emerging field of intercultural communication.

Some of the concepts used here are rather technical because of the specialized fields reviewed. Ideas presented are representative of the various significant fields relevant to intercultural communication. Numerous references are provided for individuals serious in studying the role of language in intercultural communication.

Intercultural communication is a very broad and complex area. Similarly the study of language behavior is based upon multidisciplinary fields of study. Thus a researcher, teacher or practitioner of language in intercultural communication requires a thorough understanding of much of the conceptual and empirical data in numerous individualized disciplines. The present attempt is to employ the concept of information processing as primary concept and as an integrating concept for assistance in understanding the field of language in intercultural communication.

## Information Processing

James Miller describes language as an artifact, an information processing artifact that in most societies is a prostheses, i.e., an invention which carries out some critical process essential to a living system. Part of the goal of language study is to determine what are the critical processes in a society for which language becomes a primary function. Miller writes:

> Whether it be a natural language or the machine language of some computer system, it is essential to information processing. Often stored only in human brains and expressed only by human lips, it can also be recorded on non-living artifacts like stones, books, and magnetic tapes. It is not of itself a dynamic system that can change. It changes only when man changes it. As long as it is

> used it is in flux, becuase it must remain compatible with the everchanging living systems that use it. But the change emanates from the users, and without their impact the language is inert. The artifactual language used in any information transmission in a system determines many essential aspects of that system's structure and process (Whorf, 1956). . . Because artifacts are the products of living systems, they often mirror aspects of their producers and thus have systems characteristics of their own.[2]

In the above lengthy quotation, Miller provides a rationale for my approach to the study of language. First, language is a system with a structure – units and relationships – which is relatively stable over a period of time. Second, language is produced by human beings and thus a given language structure is dependent upon the particular individual(s) using the structure and the particular functions or use of the language for the individuals.

Third, the particular language structure employed within a given space and time dimension, is dependent upon the relationship(s) among two or more users of the language within a given context and with specific purposes of the users. Fourth, one's culture has a definite effect upon the study of language in that cultural relationships provide indications of the overall functions of the language used, e.g., socialization which in America is achieved primarily through language but in some cultures is achieved with very little use of language.

Finally, Miller views language as important and essential to information processing, i.e., to understand how a given individual selects, stores, processes, and uses information.

Language is a key variable in helping us understand *how* an individual thinks, and perhaps how an entire culture "thinks." Here I propose that the understanding of a society's values, politics, economics, religion, art, and communication can be better understood through viewing language as a key to human information processing. Thus, in my model (see below), information processing is represented by a vertical system which is a key to relating the study of each of the horizontal systems: linguistics, psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, ethnolinguistics, and communication.

The model below represents a schematic for conceptualizing a systems approach to the study of language. Each of the areas in the model provides a significant contribution to the study of language in an international and intercultural context.

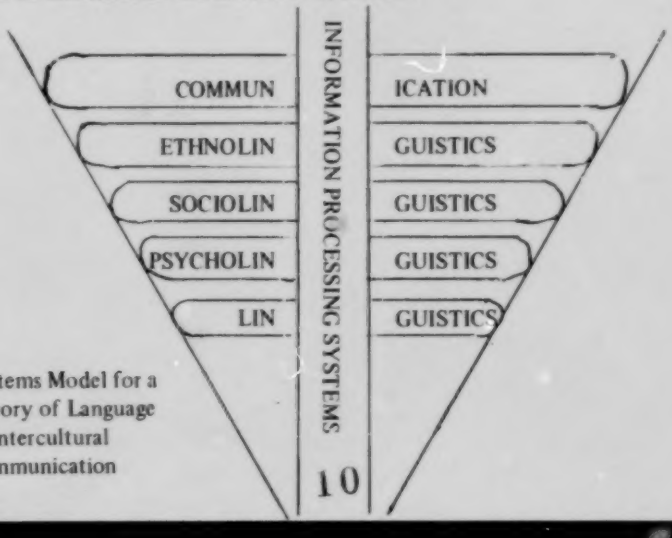


Fig 1: Systems Model for a Theory of Language in Intercultural Communication

Hymes[3] emphasizes the need to study language from a multidisciplinary perspective as does the model. In viewing the model, we see a "shaft" running vertically through the horizontal systems or through the center of the cone. The vertical "shaft" is labeled "Information Processing System," or cognitive complexity system. Such systems deal with the internal structure of an individual, i.e., the selection, storage, processing, and using of information. Although information processing refers to a broad spectrum of kinds of cognitive processing (e.g. Visual Information Processing), the focus of this article concerns how an individual processes linguistic data and how that processing is influenced by psychological, sociological, cultural and communicative variables.

## Language Perspectives

For years linguists have studied the elements of language based upon speech production of informants of given language cultures. Once the speech samples were obtained, the individual – the informant – was no longer considered nor was his culture, his purposes and functions for the speech samples nor his relationships with significant others. The informant's ability to process information from his own culture as well as the communicative culture of the interviewer was given little attention.

Chomsky[4] provided great changes in the linguistic fields. What he contributed was primarily a psychological theory of linguistics which considered not only phonological components, but syntactical and semantic processes as well. His theory of linguistic competence as differentiated from linguistic performance, set linguistic study firmly based in the field of psychology and the psychology of language and language use.[5]

Chomsky's theory of generative-transformational grammar initiated the extensive study of "psycholinguistics." A number of scholars[6] have provided research and summaries of psycholinguistic studies. The primary emphasis was to determine if any behavioral correlates, i.e., individual differences in human behavior, supported some of the theoretical constructs developed by Chomsky in both linguistic competence and performance. (Competence is what an individual, consciously or unconsciously, knows concerning his language system; linguistic performance is the actual speech production of an individual in given contexts.)

From psycholinguistic research numerous concepts and relationships posited in Chomsky's theory were confirmed. Still other relationships in Chomsky's theory of language, especially in the areas of semantics and pragmatics are yet to be supported. Nevertheless, the role of psychology and the theories and methodologies of the social sciences gained credible positions in the studies of language and language behavior.

While psychologists and some linguists were establishing behavioral correlates of linguistic variables, Hymes and Gumperz edited a series of articles under the rubric of an "ethnography of communication." Hymes called attention to:

> the need for fresh kinds of data, to the need to investigate the use of language in contexts of situation and discern patterns proper to speech activity . . . [it] must take as context a community investigating its communicative habits as a whole. . .[7]

Hymes was critical of the linguistic autonomy of the analysis of self-contained structure. He opted to integrative studies of language and a concern for consideration of social contexts and the function of speech for given individuals. Hymes states:

> People do not all, everywhere, use language to the same degree, in the same situations, or for the same situations, or for the same things; some people focus upon language more than others. Such differences in the place of a language in the communicative system of a people cannot be assured to be without influence on the depth of language's influences on such things as world view.[8]

Hymes further stated:

> It is not that linguistics do not have a vital role. Well analyzed linguistic materials are indispensable, and the logic of linguistic methodology is a principle influence in the ethnographic perspective of the approach. It is rather that it is not linguistic, but ethnography – not language, but communication – which must provide the frame of reference within which the place of language in culture and society is to be described.[9]

The work by Gumperz and Humes provided a primary emphasis for the renewed involvement by sociologists and anthropologists in the study of language, language behavior, and language contexts as related to intercultural communication. Hymes[10] provided, what this author considers one of the most exciting and potentially influential documents in the field of an ethnography of communication. In this book, Hymes draws extensively upon the fields of linguistics, sociology, anthropology, folklore, poetics and communication. The primary deficiency of the text is Hymes' use of the word communication as composed of information and cybernetic theories. Hymes does not draw upon the wealth of information from psycholinguistic research nor that from such basic communication texts as Berlo and Watzlawick et. al.[11] and more recent writings in the fields of small groups, general semantics, dyadic communication, and verbal and nonverbal correlates of human transactions. These interpersonal communication contributions provide important and necessary functions in understanding the roles of language use in human and cross-cultural communication contexts.

More recent works on the linguistic competence of children and neurolinguistic research,[12] are providing additional information for the understanding of language systems and language behavior, as will as re-emphasizing the importance of a broader systems perspective within the language fields. A systems approach provides the necessary breadth and integration of relevant subsystems to heuristically approach a theory of language and communication.

A fews years ago, I began an attempt to provide an integration for a conceptual approach to the study of language.[13] The paper integrated linguistics, psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics and interpersonal communication. This paper continues in a similar vein adding some significant dimensions by focusing on information processing which hopefully will shed more light on an understanding of human behavior in intercultural contexts.

## Levels of Language Study

LINGUISTICS. The model in Fig. 1 suggests that the study of linguistics is indispensable, i.e., the identification and organization of basic elements which are potentially usable for any given individual, society or culture. It is these units and the linguistic competence of language-users which are necessary to understand the linguistic performance of a "native speaker." However, understanding of linguists is not enough to develop a theory of language. That is, it is not sufficient to only understand the potential lexicon and rules of syntactic structure. Excellent reviews of these approaches[14] can be available, as well as a comparative view of behavioristic and generative linguistics systems.[15] Many questions are left unanswered by these theories of linguistics and language. How does one describe the communication systems of which linguistics is a part? What are the social positions of individuals which differentially evaluate pronunciations, use of lexicon and grammar? What are the roles of language in the socialization processes? Styles of speech, functions of language for social groups and cultural systems, the communicative needs, occasions and contexts, and competencies of language users – all are left unexplained by usual linguistic theories. Such questions are very important for the development of a theory of language in intercultural communication.

PSYCHOLINGUISTICS. Psychology and the study of psycholinguistics (a term which came into prominence in the early 1950's) provides another indispensable input for identifying behavioral correlates of particular linguistic components. Psycholinguists[16] have attempted to not only verify linguistic theories (primarily the generative theory of Chomsky), but also have provided valuable information about effects of language on human behavior. Language acquisition, second language learning, language learning and performance of deaf, aphasic, and retarded individuals, problems of meaning and language-use in specified contexts are all areas of exploration which have been greatly stimulated by psycholinguistic studies.

MacNeil[17] has recently looked at linguistic categories of relationship and attempted to correlate the syntactic units with cognitive development or information processing levels of individual personality. Personality variables such as information processing systems appear to be one fruitful approach to better integrate levels of language study. Information which impinges upon an individual from the various systems of the model, are likely to play a major role in understanding human behavior, whether at the individual, social or cultural levels.

SOCIOLINGUISTICS. Sociology and the study of sociolinguistics is another indispensable area of study in the development of a theory of language. Sociolinguistics, an accepted term developed in the early 1960's, is concerned with the understanding of sociological behavior of small groups, institutions, social class and other social systems within a culture. Sociolinguistics helps one in better understanding the communicative economy of a society.

Traditions, rules and norms which apply to required, expected and voluntary roles and behaviors exhibited in society provide significant information concerning the functions of language use by individuals.

The kinds of communicative events, the relationships among the components, capacity, states and activities as a whole of a culture, provide significant inputs to language theory development.

Research by Bernstein[18] in England, and verified by Pettersen[19] in the United States, provides relevant information concerning social class, family communication styles and implications for education. Sociolinguists Labov, Williams, and Shuy[20] attempt to develop significant relationships between linguistic systems and various social systems in order to better understand the communicative competencies and roles of groups in a culture.

One of the significant influences upon an individual's information processing is that of environment. Environment, simplistic to complex, has a direct bearing upon the level at which one percieves, codes, processes, stores and encodes information. It is not only the complexity of the social environment, but the psychological as well as cultural influences which highly effect cognitive information processing. Thus to better understand and develop a theory of human language behavior, information processing systems appear highly relevant in integrating various levels of language study.

ETHNOLINGUISTICS. The role of anthropology in the development of a theory of language adds some significant dimensions while at the same time overlaps and reinforces a sociolinguistic perspective. Ethnolinguistics (a term which emerged into prominence in the late 1940's) or an ethnography of communication concerns what a group of participants, their personalities, and culture do for and to a language. Hymes states:

> Finally, the role of language in thought and culture obviously cannot be assessed for bilinguals until the role of each for their language is assessed; but the same is true for monolinguals since in different societies language enters differentially into educational experience, transmissions of beliefs, knowledge, values, practices and conduct. Such differences may obtain even between different groups within a single society with a single language.[21]

In the United States much of the ethnolinguistic study has been with Native American tribes, Black, Mexican-Americans, and Eskimos. The relative function of language and verbal skills may vary quite significantly within and across cultural systems. As an example, we might contrast the highly pragmatic emphasis of verbal skills in the United States middle class culture with that of the Paliyans of south India. The Paliyans "communicate very little at all times and become almost silent by the age of 40. Verbal, communicative persons are regarded as abnormal and often as offensive."[22]

Hymes[23] provides many of the references and examples showing the relevance of anthropologists and more specifically ethnologists, to the development of theories of language.

COMMUNICATION. The last level of the model to be discussed is communication, i.e., the individual assignment of meaning to linguistic messages. As Hymes suggests, "in order to develop models or theories of the interaction of language and social life, there must be adequate descriptions of that interaction.[24] The approaches to study those interactions need to cut across and build upon the individual philosophies and methodologies of separate disciplines. We need an ethnography of speaking and communicating – an ethnography (in a broader sense than that of Hymes) of messages and message-use by individuals, groups, societies, and cultures.

Such a discipline, communication, has attempted to do just that. Communication departments are basically interdisciplinary in nature. The attempts at understanding message systems employed by dyadic transactions,[25] small groups and organizational institutions,[26] helping relationships,[27] and many other areas (as represented in Budd & Ruben)[28] attest to the relevance and influence which communication fields may have upon a theory of language behavior and cultural communication systems. Interpersonal Communication focuses upon the description, prescription and prediction of human behavior based upon linguistic, psychological, and cultural information. Thus, the study of communication and communicative messages plays a significant role for international and intercultural language study.

## Conclusion

The study of language in intercultural communication may be approached from a number of philosophical and methodological positions. The model developed in this paper focuses upon a system of levels of language study with an information processing system employed to integrate the levels. Information processing systems are receiving attention in psychology.[29] Communicologists[30] are increasingly paying close attention to information processing systems. And recently Condon and Yousef disclosed information processing (thought patterning) as a central concept in intercultural communication. At the last ICA convention in Chicago, 1975, at least half dozen papers were concerned with the area. Members of one division of ICA, Information Systems, spend a large amount of time and effort conceptualizing and researching the significance of information processing levels upon the understanding of communicative phenomena. Information processing systems, the ways that individuals decode, process, store, and encode information, provide an important and necessary function for integrating levels of language study. The present approach conceptualizes an important systems model for approaching the development of a theory of language and language behavior for those interested in international and intercultural communication.

## FOOTNOTES

[1]John C. Condon and Fathi S. Yousef, *An Introduction to Intercultural Communication* (Indianapolis, Indiana: Bobbs-Merril Co., Inc., 1974).

[2]James G. Miller, "Living Systems: Basic Concepts; Living Systems: Structure and Process; Living Systems: Cross-Level Hypotheses," *Behavioral Science*, Vol. 10, 1965, p. 223.

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[4]N. Chomsky, *Syntactic Structures* (The Hague: Mouton, 1967).

[5]N. Chomsky, *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax* (The M.I.T. Press: Cambridge, 1965); For a brief synopsis of these two traditions and their implications for intercultural communication, see footnote 13.

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[7]Hymes, ibid., pp. 2-3.

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[13]D.D. Pettersen, "Linguistics: An Approach to Human Communication," in *Approaches to Human Communication*, edited by Richard Budd and Brent Ruben, (New York: Spartan Books, 1972).

[14]Chomsky, 1965, Ibid.,: F. Dinneen, *An Introduction to General Linguistics* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1967); H.A. Gleason, *An Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics*, rev. ed. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961).

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# THE MAJOR TRIAD REVISTED
# A POTENTIAL GUIDE FOR INTERCULTURAL RESEARCH

**Sharon Ruhly**

A cursory survey of texts[1] in the area of international intercultural communication suggests that E. T. Hall is among the most frequently referenced writers. In the main, readers of the texts are entertained by Hall's anecdotes of mishaps as culture meets culture or are instructed in the varying ways that people relate to time and space. While practitioners describe the importance of affect and the "out-of-awareness" nature of culture,[2] the writers devote little space to Hall's discussion of levels of culture and their associated levels of affect and awareness.[3] Yet members of the latter group – the writers – have over the years described two main needs in the area of intercultural research: the need for a set of theoretically related concepts[4] and the need for relating cross-cultural (comparative) studies to the study of intercultural communication (that which occurs at the interface of two cultures).[5]

In light of this situation, it can be argued that although scholars are aware of the writings of E. T. Hall, they have largely ignored the portions of his writings that could provide the needed directions for research. To develop the argument, the discussion that follows is organized into two parts. The first portion reviews two of Hall's typologies and the relationships he posits between them. The second portion presents the implications of Hall's framework for three areas: cross-cultural research, intercultural research, and training methods.

## Hall's Intercultural Framework

### The Typology of Cultural Levels

Although the conscious and unconscious nature of culture have been present for some time, Hall (working with Trager) postulated three, rather than two, levels. Thus under the rubric of the "major triad" we are presented with a typology consisting of three kinds of levels of culture. For each type, Hall presents statements about learning, awareness, affect and change. Hall originally stated that "it is extremely difficult to practice more than one element of the formal, informal, technical triad at the same time without paralyzing results," but that ". . .while one will dominate, all three are present in any given situation."[6] Thus we are led to believe that we could take any given event or example of behavior and place it into one of these three categories.

In a later article on adumbration, however, Hall indicates that the initial delineation of the three levels "was somewhat oversimplified." He then attempts to correct this situation by bringing these concepts into line with information theory.[7] Definitions at this point become somewhat difficult to locate, but the reorientation seems to appear in Hall's hypothesis:

> the formal or technical message is more often understood than the informal, but, since the latter influences the meaning of the former, there is always a parataxic element (noise) present in any conversation and this element becomes greater as cultural distance increases.[8]

Therefore, it would seem, that to the "oversimplified" version is added the notion of the inter-influence of levels as they affect meaning. It becomes necessary not only to note what level a participant is operating on at any given moment, but also what levels precede and follow.

What precisely is the nature of each of these three types? My interpretation of each is described briefly in the discussion below and is organized categorically in Table 1.

The formal level of culture is concerned with the traditional. The past is influential at this level and everyone has knowledge of it. Learning occurs at this level through "precept and admonition." The learner makes a mistake and is corrected. The formal appears to operate at the level of consciousness but does not allow for alternatives of behavior. Emotion seems to accompany almost every instance of the formal, and deep emotions are particularly connected to violations of formal standards. This area is highly resistant to change.

The informal level of culture is situational in nature and deals with accepted adaptations and modifications on the formal. Learning occurs through modeling at this level, without much awareness of rules involved. This area of culture is almost entirely out of awareness. No affect is involved so long as the rules are followed, but a great deal of emotion or tension accompanies the breaking of these rules. Change seems to be erratic and unpredictable here.

The technical level is characterized by articulated rules. It is learned through a primarily one-way, teacher-to-student, information flow. Behavior at this level is fully conscious (within our awareness) and is characterized by little or no emotion. Hall feels that emotion may accompany the breaking of rules at this level, but I would suggest that we are actually entering the formal level when this occurs. Changes can be introduced at this level with the greatest of ease in comparison to the formal and informal levels.

From this description, it appears that the three levels differ in terms of learning, awareness, affect and change. In an intercultural encounter, it would seem that we can expect affect to be present if one or more of the participants is operating at a formal level or if rules have been violated at an informal level.

As an example, an intercultural communication workshop would become more emotionally charged as discussion moves to formal or informal levels, or as the practitioners put it, as "intellectualizing" is avoided. Furthermore, if process observation is technical in nature, drawing attention to informal adaptations, we can perhaps anticipate that such observation may "paralyze" the ongoing communication patterns.

The Primary Message Systems

The typology of the primary message systems is probably much more familiar than is the major triad. This situation, in conjunction with the title *The Silent Language*, may account for the popular belief that the book deals with "body language." Because of the familiarity of the primary message systems, they will be reviewed only briefly here. As will be seen in the next sections, this typology has much greater potential utility when viewed in conjunction with the major triad.

A Primary Message System (PMS) is a type of human activity which is (1) rooted in a widely shared biological activity, (2) is capable of analysis on its own terms without reference to the other systems, and (3) is reflective of the rest of culture. The Primary Message Systems are ten in number: interaction, association, subsistence, bisexuality, territoriality, temporality, learning, play, defense, and exploitation.[9]

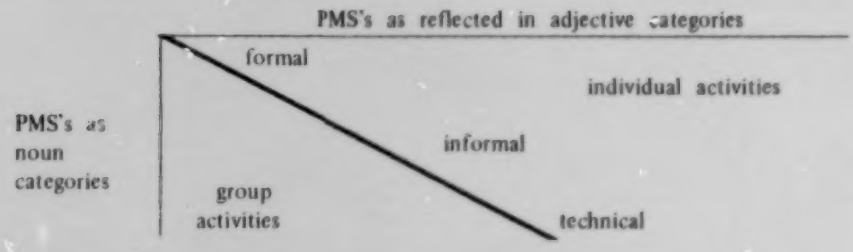
## TABLE 1: THE LEVELS OF CULTURE

| LEVEL OF CULTURE | DESCRIPTION | LEARNING | AWARENESS | AFFECT | RELATION TO CHANGE |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| FORMAL | concerned with tradition; gives influence to the past; everyone has knowledge of; is taken for granted; never questioned | taught by precept and admonition; is subfused with emotion; learned through mistake and correction – two way process; details are binary, yes–no, in nature; appears to relate to principles of operant and classical conditioning* | is at conscious level of awareness but does not admit of another way; is aware of activity but not of underlying reason or assumption | accompanies violation of norms; deep emotions associated with almost every instance; | characterized by slow, almost imperceptible, change; highly resistant to forced change from outside |
| INFORMAL | is situational in nature; deals with adaptations on the formal; is somewhat imprecise; is more "casual" than formal | learned through modeling; clusters of activities learned together; learned without awareness of rules; appears to relate to chaining and multiple discrimination* | almost entirely out of awareness; concerns action at an automatic level | no affect so long as "rules" are followed extreme discomfort or anxiety when rules are broken; appropriate response for deviation also learned informally | Hall is "silent" here; it appears that change may occur in a period of a few years, but we may not know how or why |
| TECHNICAL | can be subjected to analysis by own culture; can be verbalized; is characterized by articulated rules | one way; teacher to student; learning often preceded by logical analysis proceeds by outline; reasons are given; appears to relate to concept formation and principle learning* | fully conscious behavior; at highest level of consciousness | characterized by supression of feelings;<br><br>possible emotion when technical rules of games not followed | changes can be introduced here with greatest ease; change should be introduced at this level or as a totally new system |

*These relational statements are tentative in nature. For a brief explanation of types see Gregory A. Kimble and Norman Garmezy, *Principles of General Psychology*. 3rd ed. (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1968), pp. 260-261.

With these ten primary message systems, Hall and Trager construct a ten by ten matrix or map of culture.[10] Each PMS combines with itself and each of the other nine PMS's to provide descriptors that should cover all aspects of culture. The grid is abstracted in Table 2.

TABLE 2: PMS MATRIX




Thus the cell where learning (horizontal) combines with sexual (vertical, adjective reflecting PMS of bisexuality) contains aspects of what the sexes are taught in a given culture.

Relationship of the Two Typologies

At least two interesting elements occur in this grid as constructed by Hall and Trager. First, however, it is useful to note the basis on which the PMS's were *ordered* to construct the grid. Hall and Trager chose the order given above because "it was closest to the actual phylogenetic order, that is the order in which the activities are learned and integrated in the life history of each organism."[11] With the PMS's ordered in this manner, Hall and Trager report that a diagonal drawn from the upper left of the matrix to the lower right represents a move from formal to informal through technical levels of culture. Areas above the diagonal reflect individual activities; areas below, group activities. Thus it might be reasoned that as an event moves from the area of exploitation to learning or subsistence, it also has greater chances of being informal or formal in nature.

And yet we are aware of the fact that what is formal in one culture may exist at an informal or technical level in another. Hall gives us the example of religion.[12] Whereas in predominantly Catholic countries, religion may be treated formally; in the U.S., it exists at a more technical level. Hall's matrix, therefore, would not seem an adequate predictor of level of culture for a given event across all cultural groups. Hall does indicate, however, that "most societies rank the systems differently from the order given."[13] It seems possible, then, that the matrix produced by a given society may reflect its own formal, informal, and technical areas of culture. This notion is further reinforced by the idea that if lower rankings reflect lower levels of affect, it is reasonable that the intersection of these levels (lower right of the diagonal) would represent the technical level of culture. It is possible, then that the phylogenetic ordering may represent a "cultural average" that would result from combining the orders from all societies.

Thus Hall presents us with two interrelated typologies. The first, the Major Triad, delineates three levels of culture described in terms of learning, awareness, affect, and relation to change. The second, the ten Primary Message Systems, reflects types of interrelated human activity present in all cultures. When a matrix of the ten PMS's is constructed on the basis of phylogenetic order, we find that intersection of systems developed early represents the formal level; of those developed later, the informal level; and of those developed last, the technical level. Finally, societies vary in their individual ranking of the Primary Message Systems.

## The Utility of Hall's Framework

Mainly the discussion this far has abstracted selected sets of categories from E. T. Hall's *The Silent Language*. The abstraction was guided by the need to isolate elements of the typologies that appear to have the greatest utility for guiding future research in the area of intercultural communication. I contend that research based upon these systems has several advantages. It gives a direction to cross-cultural research that may permit us systematically to relate this knowledge to what occurs in the intercultural situation. It allows us to draw upon already completed ethnographic studies. It may allow for the theoretically justified introduction of mathematical procedures which are currently being developed. Finally, it may allow our research to be more directly applicable to training methods currently in use. Rather than supporting each of these statements separately, I will divide the remainder of the discussion into three broad areas: application to cross-cultural studies, testable hypotheses for intercultural research, and application to training methods.

### Application to Cross Cultural Research

Cross-cultural research should be directed to operationalization and validation of Hall's relational statements (see Table 1) across as many cultures and events as possible – most particularly across those groups frequently in contact with each other in the "global community." If his relationships hold, we will have identified the three levels for each group studied and will have at our disposal certain indicators by which we may classify additional activities according to level.

There appear to be several approaches to this task, some of which involve the re-examination of already existent literature. First, as Hall implicitly suggests, it is possible to let members of the culture under study rank the 10 Primary Message Systems themselves. The diagonal of a matrix formed from these rankings may then be considered the index to the formal, informal and technical levels within that culture.

It seems this matrix construction may be carried out through a simple ranking or through a more complex measuring technique. Joseph Woelfel[14] is currently involved in the development of "procedures for the precise [metric] measurement of cultural processes." Although description of Woelfel's work is beyond the scope of this article, two of his definitional statements suggest that his methods may have something to contribute to intercultural theory building. He defines "definition" at a personal level as

> a process of relating objects of thought to each other. Fundamentally this involves taking note of similarities and differences between objects, or

> identifying the attributes of an object (or the self) with similar attributes of different objects, and differentiating the attributes of the object from those attributes of the objects' [*sic.*] which are different.[15]

The above, then, is a description of our categorization process. Our identification of self is the process which involves the "establishment of relationships to objects in the conceptual environment other than self." Culture according to Woelfel is "the arithmetic mean of the self conceptions of all members of the culture." It

> may be represented accurately as the average matrix D, where any entry $d_{ij}$ is the arithmetic mean conception of the distances or dissimilarities between objects i or j as seen by all members of the culture."[16]

If we allow the PMS's to be considered objects of the culture, Woelfel's approach may allow for the development of cultural profiles in which not only order, but also distance is represented. As we move toward the development of cultural matrices, the possibility and potential of such quantification should be considered.

As matrices are being developed, ethnographies of the cultures should be re-examined for at least two types of statements, those relating to child-rearing practices (learning) and those dealing with the awareness component. Ongoing studies utilizing participant observation should also direct themselves toward these matters, and additionally attempt to operationalize and record levels of affect for the activities they observe.

Derivation of Testable Hypotheses for Intercultural Communication Research

If the cross-cultural studies, outlined above, serve to support the relationships indicated by Hall, we have at least three testable hypotheses to apply to the intercultural situation. In essence each of these three hypotheses are trouble shooters; that is, they attempt to predict when difficulty may occur in an intercultural encounter. First, we may reason that if one or more of the participants is engaging in, or discussing, a formal activity, they will be working at a constantly high level of affect. It may be possible to expect more polarized and opinionated reactions from them at this point. Secondly, if one or more of the participants are engaging in an informal activity, we may anticipate "sudden," *seemingly* unpredictable, levels of affect and difficulties in communication. Finally, if informal rules differ among participants in the period immediately preceding or following a technical discussion, we may anticipate misunderstanding for the technical portion as well (concept of adumbration).

Application to Training Methods

Examination of the issues outlined above should provide insight into the broad area of experiential vs. cognitive training. This insight appears to have ramifications for at least three specific areas.

First we will have an anthropologically-grounded theoretical base out of which to examine culture general vs. culture specific approaches to training. To date we seem to have little data as to which is the superior approach.[17] Culture specific training in which we are given a

specific set of rules and norms for the host culture would seem to correspond to a technical approach. It is possible that for cultures such as the Manus, who treat their culture technically,[18] that a technical, culture-specific, approach will be the best. That is, the type of training should perhaps be geared to the level of culture at which the event under consideration exists.

Secondly, but related to this first area, we may want to consider more carefully the level of culture at which a given event exists for both cultures who are in contact. For example, there are two National Film Board Films treating the customs and tradition of the Iroquois Longhouse. The Anglo produced film, *The Longhouse People*, appears to work at a formal level. The Native American produced film, *These are My People*, uses more of a technical approach. For an audience who treats religion formally the former film may be superior; for an audience, such as contemporary U.S. youth, who treat religion technically the latter may be superior. Research needs to be directed to this question.

Finally, we may need to re-examine the nature and role of intellectualizing in the intercultural communication workshop. Intellectualizing seems conceptually similar to operating at the technical level of culture. Therefore, what may be intellectualizing for one culture may be operating at a more formal, emotionally charged level for another culture. Furthermore, we may need to consider whether or not "intellectualizing" should be unilaterally discouraged. If it provides an escape, or break, from an emotionally charged atmosphere, it may keep the workshop from reaching too intense and draining a level. Since I have recently heard criticisms directed against the effects of this sustained intense level, I feel we may also want to direct research to this issue.

Thus it appears that Hall has given us two typologies of culture with relational statements that need to be tested cross-culturally. Furthermore his relational statements suggest testable hypotheses for the intercultural situation. Answers to these questions may in turn shed light on the nature of our training procedures. Therefore, I would argue that we do have the beginnings of a conceptual theory of intercultural communication. We have simply waited too long in using it.

## FOOTNOTES

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[2]Edward C. Stewart, Jack Danielian and Robert J. Foster, *Simulating Intercultural Communication Through Role-Playing* (Alexandria VA: HumRRO Division No. 7, Technical Report 69-7, 1969), p. 4; Cornell University, "Intercultural Communications Workshops," *Intercultural Communications in Theory and Practice: Basic Ideas and Suggestions for Workshops and Other Training Programs* (State Education Department of the University of the State of New York, April 1973, mimeo), p. 28.

[3]For an example of an exception to this statement see the references in Everett Kleinjans, "Communicating with Asia," in Samovar and Porter, *Intercultural Communication,* pp. 256-266.

[4] Samuel L. Becker, "Directions for Intercultural Communication Research," *Central States Speech Journal,* 20 (Spring, 1969), pp. 3-13; Richard E. Porter and Larry A. Samovar, "Intercultural Communication Research: Where do We Go From Here," *Readings in Intercultural Communication,* 3, (June, 1973), pp. 4-5.

[5]Becker, "Directions," p.4.

[6]Edward T. Hall, *The Silent Language* (New York: Doubleday Fawcett Premier, 1959), p. 68.

[7]Edward T. Hall, "Adumbration as a Feature of Intercultural Communication," *American Anthropologist,* 66 (December 1964), p. 156.

[8]Ibid.,pp. 156-157.

[9]Hall, *The Silent Language,* pp. 45-46.

[10]Ibid., see Appendix 2.

[11]Ibid., p. 173

[12]Ibid., p. 75.

[13]Ibid., pp. 173 and 176.

[14]Joseph Woelfel, "Procedures for the Precise Measurement of Cultural Processes," (East Lansing) mimeo; "Metric Measurement of Cultural Processes," (Paper presented to the Speech Communication Association Annual Convention, Chicago, December, 1974) mimeo.

[15]Woelfel, "Procedures," p. 2.

[16]Ibid., p. 12.

[17]For a discussion of this issue see Richard W. Brislin, "Cross Cultural Training Programs and Their Evaluation," *Readings in Intercultural Communication*, 3, (June, 1973), p. 103.

[18]See Hall, *The Silent Language*, p. 84.

# THE EFFECTS OF ETHNOCENTRISM UPON INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION: FUNCTIONAL AND DYSFUNCTIONAL

Jerry L. Burk

> When Truk was visited by some men from the nearby island of Puluwat, which is much less acculturated, Romonum people made many derisive jokes about the scanty clothing they wore and their generally unadvanced ways. A friend of mine laughingly told me that the Puluwat men were like monkeys and lived in trees. Similarly, a number of Romonum people know of New Guinea and they consider the inhabitants to be unregenerate cannibals whom they group together with sharks and other fearsome and hateful life forms.
>
> Marc J. Swartz, 1961.

The Truk informant's assessment of Puluwat islanders and the people of New Guinea in the opening quotation reflects the general evaluation given these groups by Truks. These negative evaluations directed toward a group as a whole will be defined as ethnocentrism. It is the purpose of this paper to clarify the ethnocentrism concept and to describe its effects upon groups.

Sumner is generally credited with the introduction of the term "ethnocentrism" to the study of social groups in 1906. He defined it as,

> . . . the technical name for the view of things in which one's own group is the center of everything, and all others are scaled and rated with reference to it . . . the most important fact is that the ethnocentrism leads a people to exaggerate and intensify everything in their own folkways which is peculiar and which differentiates them from others. It therefore strengthens the folkways.[1]

The effects of ethnocentrism will be characterized as functional when the ingroup is strengthened and more cohesive and dysfunctional when it leads to hostility and conflict with outgroup members. Dysfunctional effects of ethnocentrism will be discussed further as a source of failures in intercultural communication transactions and antithetical to the goal of intercultural communication scholars.

## FUNCTIONS OF ETHNOCENTRISM

Catton (1960-1961) described "ethnocentrism" as one of sociology's most distinctive concepts and a major component of a sociological outlook. He said that students of sociology are generally left with the impression that ethnocentrism is a flaw in human nature which is lamentable. Yet ethnocentrism can also yield functional as well as dysfunctional consequences in the relations of man to his culture.

Group loyalty, uniformity, and conformity may be enhanced by strict adherence to ethnocentric attitudes. As ethnocentrism increases the content of the culture is diffused more effectively and the efficacy of perceptual defenses increases as well. Catton used

Homan's concept of social systems in small groups to explain how ethnocentrism functions in the social systems of cultural groups. EXTERNAL SYSTEMS are maintained in groups by ethnocentric attitudes which solve problems of survival in the environment. INTERNAL SYSTEMS allow group members to derive personal gratification of need dispositions through ethnocentric sentiments. Social control is strengthened when ethnocentric attitudes are followed uncritically, likewise, "... the norms of the in-group are weakened if the values from which they derive are not assumed to be absolute and universal. If so, and if, by conforming to its norms, the members of the in-group are enabled to attain the goals they actually desire, then ethnocentrism would have to be considered functional."[2] The functional effects of ethnocentrism are, therefore, instrumental in achieving group maintenance and personal goals for the group members.

ETHNOCENTRISM AND NATIONALISM. Rosenblatt (1964), following Sumner's tradition, discussed the similarities between the goals of ethnocentrism and nationalism. Groups with either quality attribute positive values to the ingroup ways and negative values to those of outgroup members. Ethnocentrism focuses upon the culture and ways of a people, their ideology, and cultural patterns whereas nationalism occurs on a smaller scale with political ideology as the focus. High ethnocentrism and high nationalism, moreover, satisfy certain needs in the lives of group members and the maintenance of the group integrity as follows:[3]

1. GROUP SURVIVAL - Groups with high ethnocentrism and high nationalism are more likely to survive the threats of external forces.

2. TANGIBLE PAYOFFS - Administrative efficacy is promoted (e.g. power in policy making decisions, division of labor- promotion of group welfare).

3. INCREASED HOMOGENEITY - Groups will have more homogeneous attitudes, greater cohesivness, and increased conformity.

4. GREATER VIGOR AND PERSISTENCE - Problems affecting the group are addressed with persistence and energy.

5. GREATER EASE OF STRIVING AGAINST OUTSIDERS - Reactions against outgroups are executed with greater ease because of strong commitments to group maintenance.

6. DECREASED SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION - Intragroup organization increases.

7. INCREASED TENURE OF LEADERS - Leaders are more likely to remain in the leadership position.

8. NEW DISSENSION - Intragroup conflicts arise frequently amid the strain toward homogeneity.

9. MISPERCEPTION OF OUTGROUPS - Attributions to outgroup members are not accurate because of misperceptions.

10. FACILITATION OF LEARNING - Learning correct ingroup behavior is easier when the pressures to conform are pervasive.

The consequences of high ethnocentrism and high nationalism are increased group solidarity through shared values and common sentiments. Oftentimes groups communicate their shared antipathy for outgroups through slurs and name calling. These ethnophaulisms can be used to teach appropriate responses to outgroups and to reinforce existing antipathy.

ETHNOPHAULISMS IN ETHNOCENTRISM. "Ethnophaulism" is derived from the Greek root meaning to disparage an ethnic group. Frequently the number of ethnophaulisms used by a group reflects the intensity of ethnocentrism in the evaluations of outgroup members. Palmore (1962) and Simpson and Yinger (1972) point out, further, that ethnophaulisms are universal, "All racial and ethnic groups use ethnophaulisms to refer to other groups."[4] Their use strengthens the ethnocentrism by reinforcing the disparaging evaluations of outgroup members. The nature, number, intensity, and functions of ethnophaulisms may be summarized as follows:[5]

1. All racial and ethnic groups use ethnophaulisms.

2. The number of ethnophaulisms may also be closely associated with the intensity of the ethnocentric attitude.

3. Physical characteristics are generally highlighted in ethnophaulisms directed toward other races.

4. Highly visible cultural differences are highlighted when the conflicting groups are of the same racial stock.

5. Ethnophaulisms express an unfavorable stereotype generally.

6. Ethnophaulisms may not only reinforce the ethnocentric attitude, but intensify the ethnocentrism as well.

It is impossible to say that ethnophaulisms are essential to the survival of ethnocentrism, but there seems to be a trend indicating that the intensity of ethnocentrism is signaled by the number of ethnophaulisms. Palmore concluded, "We may discover that ethnophaulisms are essential for the existence of such forms of ethnocentrism as chauvinism, pejorative stereotypes, scapegoats, segregation, and discrimination."[6] The content of intercultural communication transactions seems to be a fruitful area of research for corollaries of ethnocentrism if Palmore's findings are correct.

## DYSFUNCTIONS OF ETHNOCENTRISM

The consequences of ethnocentric maintenance functions may be dysfunctional in the amelioration of hostilities and conflicts which emerge as a result of intercultural transactions. Group solidarity and the devaluation of outgroups may become sufficiently strong to give a social group confidence in converting the outgroup from their errant ways by force. Holmes (1965) cautioned that this is the time when ethnocentrism is particularly problematic. He observed, "When this ingroup feeling develops to the extent that the members of a particular society feel that their way of life is so superior to all others that it is their duty to change other people to their way of thinking and doing (if necessary by force), then this attitude becomes a menace."[7] Violence may seem justifiable in reaction to deviations from one's cultural set for these may not be perceived as operative or legitimate forms of belief or behavior. Smith (1974) restated this conviction of the "rightness" or ethnocentric beliefs saying, "The home culture is a cacoon of cognitive comfort."[8] To the well acculturated ingroup member there are two ways to do things, his way, and the wrong way.

Misperception between groups was described by White (1975) as the major direct cause for war between groups. Political decision-making is largely concerned with the security of the social system and the reduction of threats from outgroups. Ethnocentrism in the outgroup behavior may be perceived as threatening and result in the use of ethnophaulisms for labeling the outgroup as an "enemy" or a menace to the survival of the group. The major causes for misperception at the political level, according to White, were wishful thinking, overconfidence, and projections.[9] Wishful thinking is the tendency of individuals to believe what they want to believe and to distort events so that they conform to their expectations. Overconfidence is a form of wishful thinking where the problems facing a political group are not accurately assessed and the ability of the group to cope is overestimated. Projection is the act of attributing characteristics to our enemies which makes them constitute a threat to the group and which makes hostile responses justifiable. "It is not asserted that ethnocentrism is *the* cause of war;" said Catton, "it is only being hypothesized that ethnocentrism is *a* factor which enables homo sapiens to engage in war despite rational considerations to the contrary."[10] Perceptions from the past influence perceptions in the present and expectations in the future, though these percepts may be badly out of date. Persons' unwillingness to change perceptions means that the reality of a situation changes more quickly than the perception, contributing to the misperception.

Perceptual distortion is one key to the dysfunctional nature of ethnocentrism in intercultural communication transactions. The specific causes of misperceptions involving persons are not well understood because of the plethora of variables and their interaction. This point was underscored by Walters (1952) when he remarked, "One aspect of the complexity of intergroup relations lies in the now accepted notion of multiple causation, in which many forces and trends are recognized as interrelated in such a way that simple cause and effect equations are inadequate in the realm of human behavior."[11] Hastorf, Schneider, and Polefka (1970) recognized the problem of meaning in this area as well, "We know all too little about the variables that lead one group of people to interact and develop shared

meanings and another group to interact and not develop coordination of meaning. We hope that increased attention will be paid to the variables that influence the development of shared meaning, for it is a salient part of the fabric of all social life."[12] An understanding of perception and misinterpretation will certainly assist intercultural communication researchers in addressing the dysfunctional nature of ethnocentrism.

Person perception was discussed by Hastorf and Bender (1952) as the, " . . . very heart of social psychology."[13] Yet person perception was variously described as *empathy* and *projection*. An understanding of their differences was revealed in part when the two processes were contrasted with empathy being defined as, " . . . projecting one's self into a work of art or a condition of nature "[14] and projection as, " . . . the attribution to others of one's own needs, interests, and attitudes."[15] The purpose of the study was to isolate the projection from what appeared to be empathy in dyadic interaction. Subjects were asked to predict the numerical score of the other to determine whether the person could correctly anticipate the score (empathy) or whether the anticipation was influenced by his own score (projection). The results indicated that projection was more frequent and more intense than empathy and that projectors seemed to be more similar to one another than empathizers. Projection was found to be more autistic and personal as the projector attributes his own feeling to associates. Empathetic ability was, on the other hand, characterized as more objective, more cognitive, and more perceptive of the psychological structure of the other person. It seems reasonable to conclude that if projection is at work in ethnocentric attitudes then these attitudes are less dependent upon the discrimination of real stimuli from others, relying upon *predispositions* harbored by the person.

Bass and Dunteman (1963) studied the interaction of competing and cooperative groups to determine how these conditions influenced the perception of others. Their results seem to indicate that a type of ethnocentrism was working in the perceptual process. They concluded that, " . . . our evaluation of other groups are only partly based on reality and observed performance."[16] Allies and opponents were evaluated differently with predictable devaluation of opponents. "We undervalue other groups in comparison with our own. When another group becomes our competition, we undervalue it even more; while the worth of our collaboration rises in our estimation." [17] When outgroups were joined in a cooperative venture the evaluation of the members appreciated. Outgroup members that were assigned to compete with the group were devalued and these effects were further influenced by whether the group defeated or was defeated by the competition. The perceptual distortion of others was influenced by their membership in an outgroup, the allied or opponent status of the outgroup, and the consequences of the competition.

Similar results were found by Blake and Mouton (1962) when groups were developed and intergroup competition was experimentally induced. It was predicted that group membership would distort judgments of group products in favor of own group products. The results confirmed the predicted distortition of judgments as a result of: (1) PERCEPTUAL DISTORTION - personal gratification or need satisfaction, which come from the ingroup, also foster the distortion of outgroup products, (2) REPORTING DISTORTIONS - evaluations were distorted for the purpose of winning in competitive interaction.

Clearly competition increases the devaluation of outgroup members in much the same manner as ethnocentric attitudes. Ferguson and Kelley (1964) recognized this effect and devalued the competitive problem solving dimension of group interaction. Two groups were formed and a member from each group was elected to leave the room for reasons which would be clarified later. The remaining group members were asked to do their best in solving a motor task, planning task, and verbal task, but they were explicitly informed that they were not in competition. The elected members served as judges of the group products without having participated in the product. Competitive feelings emerged in spite of the experimenter's instructions," . . . the sheer presence of another group working on the same task leads to a tendency to compare results. With this comparison, the seeds for competitive feelings and behavior are sown. It appears that the foundations of intergroup conflict are exceedingly easy to lay."[18] Uninvolved participants evaluated the products of the two groups expressing a preference for the product of their own group. It seems that group membership, without participation or involvement in the group product, is sufficient for own group preference or ethnocentrism. An emotional identification or attraction seems to be a basic factor in the expression of own group product preferences.

The results of these studies seem to reinforce Sumner's concept of ethnocentrism as a *universal* characteristic of human groups. However a case of "negative ethnocentrism" is cited by Swartz (1961) who denies the universal negative evaluation. Negative ethnocentrism is characterized by the depreciation of one's own culture when compared to another. The Trukese are cited as a group which devalues its own culture when it is compared to the American culture. The result is high praise for Americans while they abuse themselves openly. Alternative explanations of Truk's behavior using Sumner's concept of ethnocentrism did not suffice:[19]

1. FLATTERY - The self effacing behavior persists and cannot be dismissed as mere flattery.

2. ASSIMILATION - The kinship system, political system, and division of labor remain intact with no threat from Americans.

3. LACK OF ETHNOCENTRISM - Traditional ethnocentric devaluations exist for inhabitants of the islands of Puluwat and New Guinea.

4. LOVE OF AMERICANS - The affection is not so strong as to overcome the powerful influences of universal ethnocentrism.

The Truk culture does not universally devalue outgroup members as Sumner suggested and Swartz feels that the concept of ethnocentrism must be revised to account for this anomolous instance. The Trukese seem to judge other non-American groups by their own standards and devalue them, as Sumner suggested, without thinking themselves superior to Americans. Swartz reviewed this seeming anomoly and concluded that, " . . . there is no reason to view their behavior as other than ethnocentric, although the ethnocentrism in question happens to result in a negative judgment of themselves."[20] It is Sumner's second

component, "Each group nourishes its own pride and vanity, boasts itself as superior, exalts its own divinities, and looks with contempt on outsiders,"[21] that does not seem to apply to the Truk culture.

The anomoly of the Truk culture does not reduce the import that dysfunctions of ethnocentrism have upon intercultural communication transactions. The study of intercultural communication now and for the future will require that one learn to reduce conflicts by coping with the ethnocentric attitudes which focus each group upon its favorable qualities at the expense of all other groups. Triandis (1972) suggested, "One of the keys to this aggression can be found in ethnocentric concepts, ideological differences, and culturally determined ways of perceiving the social environment."[22] The diminution of ethnocentrism seems to be a central concern in reducing the social distance between groups and facilitating effective communication transactions by correcting the misperceptions of outgroups.

## ETHNOCENTRISM AND INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

Intercultural communication is intended to develop channels for understanding, avoiding pitfalls leading to conflicts, and resolving conflicts that arise in transactions across cultures. Ethnocentrism is at odds with these purposes in the main as misperception, highlighted differences, and heightened hostilities are general effects wrought by this process. Allport (1954) defined ethnocentrism as a learned response to others which increases social distance and decreases the number of communication channels between people. "People who stay separate have few channels of communication. They easily exaggerate the degree of differences between groups, and readily misunderstand the grounds for it. And perhaps most important of all, the separateness may lead to genuine conflicts of interest as well as to many imaginary conflict."[23] Ethnocentrism is dysfunctional, moreover, in its effects of achieving the goals sought by many intercultural communication scholars. Social class and personality will be briefly discussed as sources of increased ethnocentrism, greater social distance, and probabilities of miscommunication.

SOCIAL CLASS AND ETHNOCENTRISM. The influence of social class upon the evaluation of outgroup members was graphically illustrated by Davis, Gardner, and Gardner (1941) in a study of the social perspectives of social classes in "Old City." Each social class saw itself as homogeneous and distinct from other social classes. After two years of research it was concluded that, "Members of any one class thus think of themselves as a group and have a certain unity of outlook. This is indicated by their frequent reference to 'people like us' and to persons 'not our kind.' Expressions of this group solidarity are particularly prevalent when individuals are discussing groups immediately above and below them."[24] A cohesive front and highlighted differences between ingroup and outgroup members did not lend itself to communication between the social classes. Social distance was signaled by the social class distinction and it seems the channels for communication were insufficient or underutilized. As the social groups became more distant the ability to clearly explicate differences was wanting. Figure 1 illustrates the types of distinctions made as the social classes described each other.

**FIGURE 1**

**THE PERSPECTIVES OF SOCIAL CLASSES IN "OLD CITY"**

| Social Class Members (Evaluated) | | | | | | Social Class Members (Evaluation) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| L. Lower | U. Lower | L. Middle | U. Middle | L. Upper | U. Upper | U. Upper |
| "Po' Whites" | | "Good people, but 'nobody'" | "Nice respect-able people" | "Aris-tocracy" but not "old" | "Old Aris-tocracy" | |
| "Po' Whites" | | "Good people but 'nobody'" | "Nice respect-able people" | "Aris-tocracy" but not "old" | "Old Aris-tocracy" | L. Upper |
| "No 'count lot" | | "People who don't have much money" | "People who should be upper class" | SOCIETY: "Society" but not "old families" | SOCIETY: "Old families" | U. Middle |
| "No 'count lot" | "People poorer than us" | "We poor folks" | "People who think they are somebody" | OLDER: "Old ari-stocracy" YOUNGER: "Broken aristocracy" | | L. Middle |
| "Shiftless people" | "Poor but honest folks" | "People who are up because they have a little money" | "Society" or the "folks with money" | | | U. Lower |
| "People just as good as anybody" | "Snobs trying to push up" | "Way-high-ups," but not "Society" | "Society" or the "folks with money" | | | L. Lower |

Adapted from Allison Davis, Burleigh B. Gardner, and Mary R. Gardner, DEEP SOUTH: A SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDY OF CASTE AND CLASS (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941), p. 65.

The fact that communication channels are closed to outgroups has been studied recently by reviewing the types of patients that are selected by psychiatrists. Many believe as Jones (1975) that there is an "ugly class bias" among mental health professionals. This bias was examined when a group of seventy-five clinical psychologists were given the responses of eight fictional patients to Rorshach inkblots. The content of the responses was kept as similar as possible while the occupation and income of the family head was manipulated. The results indicated that, "The clinicians tended to diagnose the lower-class patients as suffering from character disorders, or psychoses, while labeling the middle-class patients as merely neurotic."[25] Further study indicated that the rejection worked both ways. The poor were less likely to be accepted for therapy, but they were less likely to accept the therapy when provided, less likely to keep the initial appointment, and more likely to drop out of treatment.

PERSONALITY AND ETHNOCENTRISM. Ethnocentrism has been discussed generally as a characteristic of ingroup members to devalue outgroups. Ethnocentric attitudes can, however, be dysfunctional in the personal adjustment of the individual, contributing to misperception and communication failure (Rokeach, 1948, 1960, 1973). Berkowitz (1962) described the ethnocentric personality as "threat oriented."

> He supposedly is uncertain of himself, the world about him, and his place in the world. He expects bad things to happen because for him people are not to be trusted . . . . His perception is a reflection of his general outlook upon life [i.e. projection]. Since the world is a dangerous place, he feels an unknown person from this world is also dangerous.[26]

The ethnocentric personality seems to require structure in the environment to the degree that they establish order in highly ambiguous situations more quickly than do tolerant individuals. Under high emotional stress these individuals also tend to ignore differences such as nationality, race, and ethnic identity and classify all persons as "us" and "them" in a dichotomous fashion. Healthy communication relationships are less likely so long as polarization exists to close out others because of their potential threat.

Though ethnocentrism may be discussed as a source of conflicts in intercultural communication transactions the precise origin of ethnocentric attitudes cannot be identified. Group membership, personality, social class, and cultural group influence ethnocentrism in ways that are yet to be determined. Answers to questions concerning the degree of influence, interaction of the sources, and the consequences will be instrumental in advancing knowledge of intercultural communication.

ETHNOCENTRIC FOCUS. Theoretical and practical advances in intercultural communication may be possible through the development of sound research addressing the role of ethnocentrism in cultural and communication systems. Additionally, this seems to be a fruitful approach as it is common ground for a number of disciplines with various methods and foci. There is reason to believe that this concept could lead researchers to a truly cross-disciplinary approach to intercultural relationships. The potential for cross disciplinary

cooperation seems more likely because ethnocentrism, "... is an unannounced emergent, a common product to be claimed by no one discipline or school."[27] The major differences which exist between the various disciplines occur on the level of *causal hypotheses* rather than the nature and functions of the sociopsychological process.

Intercultural communication research has largely gained its momentum as a sub-field of speech communication with a truly cross-disciplinary approach. The question of the hour seems to be, "Are we dividing ourselves into sub-camps based upon disciplines within the field of intercultural communication?" Regrettably I fear this is the case. We are hyphenated intercultural communication scholars; intercultural-anthropology, intercultural-political science, intercultural-psychology, intercultural-sociology, and so on. If we get any more cross-disciplinary we may soon have trouble talking to one another.

Clearly an ethnocentric focus is not a universal solvent which will centralize our thinking and generate theories. Nevertheless it may serve as ground which is more common than any other for intercultural communication scholars taken as a whole. It may provide a rubric within which existing sub-groups can make a contribution which will bring us closer to a more systematic approach and ultimately theories of intercultural communication.

Through a focus on ethnocentric attitudes intercultural communication scholars may be able to work in a quasi-empirical fashion just as any social aggregate works to check its observations and conclusions. Kaplan (1964) suggested that all human beings interact and act jointly through an empirical basis.

> ... the locus of social action is a shared world which each individual must make his own in order to play his part effectively. Now it is experience through which private perspectives open out onto public objects. Subjectively is held in check with the question, 'Do YOU see what I see?'[28]

Through a common focus on ethnocentrism intercultural communication scholars may be better prepared to ask and respond to the questions of colleagues asking, "Do YOU see what I see?"

## NOTES

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[4]Erdman B. Palmore, "Ethnophaulisms and Ethnocentrism," THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY, 67, (June, 1962), p. 442.

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[7]Lowell D. Holmes, ANTHROPOLOGY: AN INTRODUCTION (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1965), p. 347.

[8]Douglas Bradley Smith, "GOD ON OUR SIDE (An Essay on Ethnocentrism)," HUMAN COMMUNICATIONS, Fall 1974, p. 4.

[9]Ralph White, "Concept Session II," Presentation at the Inaugural Conference of the Society for Intercultural Education, Training, and Research, Gaithersburg, Maryland, February 18, 1975.

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## ROLE OF THE HOLY SEE OBSERVER TO THE UNITED NATIONS AS INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATOR

**Andrew Ruszkowski**

The address of the head of the Palestinian Liberation Organization to the United Nations General Assembly on 13 November 1974 has brought to the attention of many people that there exists a special form of participation at the U.N., that of "observer." This term applies to several different situations since "observers" belong either to the United Nations specialized agencies, to international or regional intergovernmental bodies, or to non-member States.

Among the non-member States maintaining Permanent Observers' Offices at U.N. Headquarters were listed, until some time ago, the Federal Republic of Germany, the German Democratic Republic and Bangladesh, all of which have become in the meantime full members of the U.N. Others listed are the Republic of Korea, Monaco, the Republic of Vietnam, Switzerland and the Holy See.

For some of these, the observer status is to be considered in the perspective of their specifically political goals. In contrast, the presence of the Holy See is not motivated by political reasons but by its religious and spiritual mission. One should also recall that the Holy See has been a subject of international law, even before the establishment of the State of Vatican City.

From the very start of the "Family of the United Nations," the Holy See found itself, as a result of the geographical isolation of the State of Vatican City, already involved through its membership of the Universal Postal Union and the International Telegraphic Union. By a resolution of 23 November 1948, the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations (F.A.O.) accepted the decision of the Holy See to send permanent observers. The Executive Council of UNESCO, at its 26th session in May 1951, adopted a document which constitutes the basis for the status of permanent observers appointed by non-member States, and of which the Holy See made use without delay. The Holy See also sent a Permanent Observer to the European Office of the U.N. at Geneva on 1 February 1967. This office also takes care of the contacts with the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, with UNCTAD, with the World Health Organization and the International Labour Organization.

In an exchange of notes between the Secretariat of State and the U.N., dated respectively 16 and 28 October 1957, it was made clear that "these relations should be understood as being between the United Nations and the Holy See."(1)

On 21 March 1964, Pope Paul announced to Secretary General U Thant that the Holy See would henceforth be represented by a Permanent Observer to the U.N. Headquarters in New York. The sense of this presence was stated very clearly, on 4 October 1965, by Pope Paul when he addressed the United Nations General Assembly:

> ". . . he who now addresses you has no temporal power, nor any ambition to compete with you. In fact, we have nothing to ask for, no question to raise. We have only a desire to express and a permission to request, namely that of serving you in so far as we can, with disinterest, with humility and love."(2)

Quite recently, on September 4, 1974, the same voice reminded a group of the Holy See delegates to different Intergovernmental Organizations about the aims of their activity, as it had been defined several months earlier in a New Year 1974 speech to the Diplomatic corps at the Vatican:

> "To restate and to clarify the principles, to encourage their practical observance and to offer our cooperation in solving specific problems which can arise from such an observance; to do it not as much in technical matters which are beyond our competence as in human and ethical matters of justice and equity, no less important than the first ones."(3)

According to Paul VI, this "participation which is quite different by its very nature from that of other States must, in order to be efficient and well accepted, be wise and above all discreet."(4)

"Ethical and human matters," "discretion," are those not the key words which define the Holy See's observer's line of conduct also as an intercultural communicator?

Let me now discuss this question as I draw on my personal experience.

During the last two years, I have been a member of the Holy See's delegation of observers to the General Assembly of the United Nations. In that generic sense, I can be called an "observer," provided one keeps in mind that the precise title of "Permanent Observer of the Holy See to the U.N." belongs to Msgr. Giovanni Cheli who took this position in 1973. He maintains a full-time day to day contact with the U.N. headquarters in New York and presides over the delegation to the General Assembly. During the 29th Session of the Assembly, in fall 1974, the delegation included twelve members appointed specifically for this Session, in addition to Msgr. Cheli and to his assistant, Msgr. Ettore Di Filippo. Of the twelve, six were clergymen, three were laymen, and three were laywomen.

Unlike most of the governmental delegates whose presence is part of their professional job, the members of a Holy See's delegation of observers are appointed on an "ad hoc" basis and volunteer their services. Only a few of them can afford to attend throughout the full duration of a three month General Assembly. Others, among them Fr. Theodore M. Hesburgh, Lady Jackson (Barbara Ward) and myself, were called, according to their expertise, to follow specific items on the agenda.

For practical reasons (the U.N.'s New York location), most of our group belong to North American cultural areas. Nevertheless, the continents of Latin America, Europe and Africa were also represented and some intercultural communication was going on even within the delegation.

With this in mind, let us now see first: how does an observer work and second: for whom does he work?

## I – HOW DOES AN OBSERVER WORK?

The two major centers of interest to watch at a General Assembly of the United Nations are: 1) the items on the agenda and 2) the people who discuss them. After having examined both those centers of interest, it will be easier to understand the various activities of an observer.

### 1. The Items on the Agenda. Priorities.

Obviously, the agenda of a General Assembly offers the basic program of work. Most of the items are allocated to different Committees of the Assembly, where they will be discussed before any draft resolutions on the subject can be submitted to plenary meetings. The nature of the problems and the abundance of material make it necessary to establish certain priorities in selecting items of real interest to the delegation.

The choice of priorities for the Holy See's delegation is not determined by specific national interests, but derives from the fact that the Holy See's observers are in the unique position of serving basic spiritual and moral values, when these are at stake in issues affecting individual and social life. In a way, their presence becomes a "sign" of a most relevant dimension in international affairs. This dimension, a spiritual one, can only become more meaningful to all who believe in a transcendent God. Because they find in this belief an additional "humanitarian interest" dictated by love and deep respect for every individual person.

As a result of this approach then, we are most interested in issues which influence directly or indirectly the opportunities for each human being's personal growth and/or those which strengthen international solidarity. Both aspects pre-suppose the existence of diversified cultural patterns by which any individual can fulfill his (or her) human condition. They imply at the same time an improvement of intercultural exchanges in order to achieve cross-fertilization and mutual understanding, a "must" for any real progress in organized international solidarity.

The controversial issue of direct television broadcasting from communication satellites is a good case in point. Powerful interests, political, economic, technological and cultural have influenced discussions on the subject. But no one who cares about the future of man, all men, can help asking himself, when the draft Convention about the principles to govern the use by States of communications satellites for direct broadcasting will some day, as we all hope, be approved, if it will give a satisfactory answer to questions such as:

Is it legitimate for a State, using the argument of its sovereign rights, to exclude its own citizens from unauthorized (by its government) sources of information, education or entertainment and, by doing so, to jeopardize one of the fundamental human rights, the right to information?

Is it legitimate for the owners of technical and financial resources of direct television broadcasting to be allowed to produce and to distribute programs without due respect for the cultural values of remote audiences? Or of other cultures?

And is it legitimate, for countries without such broadcasting possibilities, to claim the right of access to use facilities controlled by the big media bosses, in order to produce and distribute, without distortion, programs which reflect the above mentioned values?

These questions, in the mind of a Holy See's observer, bring to memory the concern expressed during the Vatican Council (1962-5) about "what must be done in order to prevent the increased exchanges between cultures, which ought to lead to a true and fruitful dialogue between groups and nations; from disturbing the life of communities, destroying ancestral wisdom and jeopardizing the uniqueness of each people?"(5) Words which continue in the line of Pope John XXIII preoccupation with "the complete indifference to the true hierarchy of values shown by so many people in the economically developed countries," attitude which can infect "the work that is being done for the less developed countries, which have often preserved in their ancient traditions an acute and vital awareness of the more important human values, on which the moral order rests. To attempt to undermine this national integrity is clearly immoral."(6)

From this example, it should be easy to understand why some of the issues of the United Nations General Assembly are so relevant from the point of view of both the Holy See and intercultural communication.

2. People who discuss the issues.

It is the actual gathering of delegates from more than 140 countries which brings the U.N. debates to life. Together with members of the permanent staff, they constitute probably the largest accumulation of carefully (even if not always rightly) selected individuals from all parts of the world working together within one formal organizational structure.

A superficial look at a U.N. conference room might be very misleading. Everybody occupies the same kind of seat, has the same pile of pepers in front of him, the same earphones, the same microphone. Most are dressed in standard occidental way. If it would not be for the tab with the country's name, you could easily take them for members of a city council.

And yet, everyone brings with him not only his own language – and this by itself would be most distinctive – but also the cultural background which made him what he (or she) really is. For each delegation, the same words might relate to different realities, convey a particular meaning, give rise to a different emotional response. Thus, we are experiencing a continuous interaction between the universal behavior patterns which United Nations are trying to implement – at least for their own activities – and the particular patterns which typify each of the groups involved.

May I submit that the Holy See observers, by bearing witness to universal human values and at the same time by respecting each particular cultural form within a pluralistic world, can contribute and in fact do contribute by their very presence to a constructive solution of these dialectical tensions.

3. Ways and means of acting as an observer.

There are several ways in which an observer can fulfill his obligations.

*Attendance of meetings.* This is the most obvious one. Although the routine of formal international gatherings is far less exciting than many outsiders would imagine, it is a necessary kind of sacrifice for an observer if he wants to really "sense" the atmosphere of a debate. By having a close look at the way in which delegates listen to different speeches; how they themselves speak, and also how they interrelate with other delegates or group of delegates, one can try to understand better the meaning of some statements and even of some votes. By the same token one gets the opportunity to learn more about the cultural conditioning of each delegation.

Although the Holy See's observer does not take part in the vote, he can, with the permission of the Chairman, speak before Committees. In order to avoid an impression of excessive interference, the delegation will limit such interventions to very rare occasions.

*Reading of documents.* In addition to and even before attending meetings, an observer is supposed to have analyzed, prior to the meeting, all the significant documents related to items which have been assigned to him. These include reports by the General Secretariat or by the Chairman of different Committees, draft resolutions submitted by delegations, minutes of the meetings, verbatim transcripts of speeches and sometimes background papers or publications. Some of those documents, particularly reports presented by individual governments concerning their needs or the manner in which they are implementing U.N. decisions, are most illuminating from the point of view of intercultural communication.

*Personal contacts.* As in most international meetings, personal contacts are often more important than official deliberations. Friendly human relationship, developing during the weeks of a General Assembly among delegates from so many countries and continents, is most valuable. One has to spend some time in the animated atmosphere of the delegates' lounge, take some meals at the crowded restaurants for members of the delegations or the permanent U.N. staff, to have an idea of the lively communications going on. Communications which extend, of course, far beyond the U.N. headquarters and, in midst of New York's jammed traffic, escape the observer's vigilance. Special mention should be made about the year-round personal relations of the Holy See's Permanent Observer with U.N. officials. These offer opportunities for an authentic dialogue about spiritual and moral implications of the issues under international examination.

*Reporting to the Holy See.* Logically, a member of the delegation is supposed to report on what he has observed. Those reports are sent to the Secretary of State in Vatican City and help inform the Pope and his main advisers about developments in the United Nations.

Nevertheless, when drafting my own reports for this purpose, I had a feeling that something more is at stake. This "something" is related to intercultural communication. Let me explain it by trying to answer the question which leads to the second and concluding part of my remarks.

## II – FOR WHOM IS THE HOLY SEE DELEGATION WORKING?

It may seem ridiculous to even ask such a question. Evidently, this delegation is at the United Nations to work for the Holy See which means – in the minds of most people – for the Roman Catholic Church. This is correct, although even this simple statement needs some clarification. In order to grasp the full meaning of this work, it is necessary to consider its relevance for the entire human community.

1. What does it mean to work "for the Church"?

Without pretending to discuss here matters of ecclesiology, let me only remind you that the term "Church," or "People of God" as it is so consistently called by the Vatican Council II [7], refers to a whole, those in authority together with all the faithful.

Therefore, when we attend the U.N. meetings, we are conscious of being there on behalf of the entire body of the Roman Catholic Church throughout the world. We know that our reports after having been received in Rome, are useful directly to the highest administration of the Church, and indirectly to the local churches, the National Bishops' Conferences in different political, social, religious and cultural environments. This, in itself, has a great bearing on the intercultural communication aspect of our work. How can our message about the U.N. activities be equally meaningful to bishops in America, Africa, Asia or in such contrasting parts of Europe as Spain and Czechoslovakia?

The ecumenical dimension of the problem has also to be considered. As the only Church which is as such represented at the United Nations we must keep in mind the interests of other religious bodies, even beyond the group of Christian denominations. All of them are interested in promoting spiritual values in their respective cultural environments. The intercultural approach becomes, as it were, a must, if we are to serve a common interfaith cause.

In addition, our view extends beyond ecclesiastical institutions to embrace the entire human family, since according to Vatican II "all men are called to be part of this catholic unity of the People of God, a unity which is harbinger of the universal peace it promotes. And they belong to it or are related to it in various ways, the Catholic faithful as well as all who believe in Christ and indeed the whole of mankind. For all men are called to salvation by the grace of God."[8]

A Holy See observer at the United Nations can't therefore help feeling that to work for the Church means, for him, to serve the entire human race. Neither can he help recognizing that different cultural patterns represent the actual existential condition of our human race. Such a recognition belongs to the very essence of his own Church, as we are reminded by another document of Vatican II:

> "Faithful to her own tradition and at the same time conscious of her universal mission, she (the Church) can enter into communication with various cultural modes, to her own enrichment and theirs too." [9]

2. Our main concerns for the whole of mankind.

Intercultural communication is essential, in my view, to achieve both of the aims I consider as most important among the goals of the United Nations.

The first is to improve the conditions of each individual member of the human family for personal growth. There is no true humanism without true personalism. And no other way to fight all kinds of alienation. The Vatican II Constitution on the Church in the Modern World has a most significant statement to that effect:

> "In every group or nation, there is an ever-increasing number of men and women who are conscious that they themselves are the artisans and the authors of the culture of their community. Throughout the world there is a similar growth in the combined sense of independence and responsibility. Such a development is of paramount importance for the spiritual and moral maturity of the human race. This truth grows clearer if we consider how the world is becoming unified and how we have the duty to build a better world based upon truth and justice. Thus we are witnesses of the birth of a new humanism, one in which man is defined first of all by his responsibility towards his brothers and towards history."(10)

The second objective to achieve is to perfect and consolidate the formal structures of international institutions, especially the United Nations. They should become capable of enforcing solutions "based on international social justice and human solidarity, and be the practical applications of these principles." (11) I quote those words from a recent message to the U.N. Secretary General by Pope Paul VI who is most explicit on the subject:

> "The nations must succeed in creating new, more just, and hence more effective international structures in such spheres as economics, trade, industrial development, finance and the transfer of technology."(12)

And, in January 1975, he stated to the diplomatic corps accredited to the Holy See:

> "The Holy See intends to act with strength in order that operative principles of solidarity and brotherhood may replace those which are ever present as a continuing threat to the peaceful coexistence of peoples namely egoism whether national, group oriented, racial or cultural." (13)

Is fighting this kind of threat not one of the main tasks for international communicators?

## FINAL REMARKS

It is certainly a stimulating fight.

It can motivate all those who strive for more understanding among human beings, in mutual respect for each other's cultural heritage. We might have moments of discouragement. We hear and read much criticism about the apparent weakness of the United Nations. Criticism which was being loudly voiced in influential quarters during and after the recent 29th Session of the General Assembly. We must concede that no spectacular results could be credited to this Session and that some of its decisions were most controversial.

But those failures, real or apparent, should not hide from public eye the ongoing long term process of world unification. In this process many positive, if not spectacular, steps are being taken. So let us take part in the process, "convinced as we are – to use again Paul VI words – that this organization (the U.N.) represents the obligatory path of modern civilization and of world peace."(14)

May an observer who shares the Christian love of human brotherhood be allowed to proclaim his faith in the irreversible trend of unification, bearing in mind Pierre Teilhard de Chardin's vision when he says:

> "What finally lies ahead of us, is a planetary arrangement of human mass and energy, coinciding with a maximal radiation of thought – at once the external and internal planetisation of Mankind."(15)

Let's advance together along this exciting road.

*This text has been presented at the I.C.A. convention in Chicago on April 22-26, 1975.

## FOOTNOTES

[1] See H. de Riedmatten, O.P., The Part played by the Holy See in International Organizations, in: *Concilium*. Vol. 8, No. 6, Oct. 1970, pp. 74–93.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Italian text in "Osservatore Romano," Sept. 6, 1974.

[4] Ibid.

[5] "Gaudium et Spes," No. 56.

[6] John XXIII in Encyclical Letter "Mater et Magistra," No. 76 and 77.

[7] See Chapter II of the Constitution "Lumen Gentium."

[8] "Lumen Gentium," No. 13 in fine.

[9] "Gaudium et Spes," No 58.

[10] "Gaudium et Spes," No. 55.

[11] Message of Paul VI to the U.N. Secretary General, April 4, 1974. Text in "Osservatore Romano," April 10, 1974 and in "The Pope Speaks," Vol. 19, No. 1, pp. 12-14.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Quotes from a NC dispatch by James C. O'Neill published in "The Casket," Antigonish, Nova Scotia, Jan. 30, 1975.

[14] Address to the U.N., Oct. 4, 1965, quoted above, No. 1.

[15] P. Teilhard de Chardin, *The Future of Man*, p. 132 (Harper & Row, 1964.)

# INTERCULTURAL DIFFERENTIAL DECODING OF NONVERBAL AFFECTIVE COMMUNICATION

Gail M. St. Martin

## INTRODUCTION

Communication by nonverbal means seems to be a universal human phenomenon. It is possible to stop speaking, but it is impossible to stop behaving. From this continual behavior others make inferences concerning one's thoughts and emotional states. These inferences are in turn acted upon by those who make them, a response just as real as if the original message had been verbal and intentional.

Within a single culture, adults operate the nonverbal system almost unconsciously: a handshake between men in greeting; keeping to the right on streets or sidewalks; the interchange of glances during conversation. Birdwhistell (1970) estimates that within a single culture, only about 30 percent of what is communicated in conversation is verbal. But, it is when individuals from different cultural groups begin to interact that this unconsciously-assumed system of nonverbal communication ceases to function well. The elements of different systems may actually be the same but they may be assigned different meanings from one culture's systems to another's. The point is that we lack awareness of the largely unconscious nonverbal systems. Thus, in a multicultural context we have no alternative but to send messages blindly. We have no way of knowing how these messages might be received and interpreted. In a word, we have maximized the potential for a communication failure.

It seems appropriate, and even overdue, at this time when communication between nations and cultures is no longer an option but rather an imperative, that we look more closely at human communication processes. The aim is a better understanding of these phenomena in theory. Also, on the practical level, our increased understanding of the similarities and differences among peoples of different cultures may allow for messages to be more accurately sent and received. It was out of a recognition of this intercultural communication problem and potential that this study was conceived.

## DEFINITION OF TERMS

Nonverbal communication has been defined in a variety was ways, (Argyle, 1972; Borden, 1969; Ekman and Friesen, 1969; Hall, 1959; Rosenthal, *et. al.*, 1974; Ruesch and Kees, 1956) largely dependent upon the authors' scope of study. For this project nonverbal communication (NVC) is defined as all forms of human communication which are not verbal, i.e., spoken words. Included are all vocal utterances which are not linguistic, e.g., cries, sighs, etc. Also included are any other forms of behavior which have symbolic value. This last qualification allows for the exclusion of behavior which acts as a sign, e.g., a sneeze as a sign of a cold.

Decoding is the label used to define the process of an individual's perceiving and interpreting a thought or feeling in a communication which has been transmitted by an other individual(s).

Affective communication is that sort which expresses emotions.

Intercultural communication is that which takes place across cultural boundries. In terms of individuals this means communication between persons of different cultural origins.

## HYPOTHESES TO BE TESTED

This study attempted to raise to conscious awareness one particular sort of nonverbal communication — the communication of emotions and in a particular context — a multicultural one. As an aid in focusing on this situation the following research hypotheses were put forth.

Hypothesis[1]: Members of different cultural groups perceive the same nonverbal affective communication differently.

Hypothesis[2]: Male and female respondents perceive the same nonverbal affective communication differently.

## CONTRIBUTORY STUDIES

Rosenthal *et. al.* (1974, in preparation) are developing a "Perception of Nonverbal Sensitivity" test (PONS), which consists of a videotaped female sender who communicates a variety of messages nonverbally. Subjects are asked to watch a number of 3 to 5-second segments and immediately choose 1 of 2 written descriptions for a segment. Subjects for PONS are being drawn from all parts of the world in an effort to discover if cultural differences in perception of nonverbal communication do exist and if perhaps they could be correlated with "cultural distance" between the sender and receivers.

For the purpose of this study that of Rosenthal *et. al.* suggested that the stimulus medium be dynamic to more closely approximate a real situation. They also suggest that culturally different perception patterns might exist.

Burns and Beier (1973) report that visual cues were more accurate than vocal cues when observers had the task of judging various filmed portrayals of emotion. Therefore, the stimuli for this study were presented via videotape and in the modes of audio only, video only, and audiovisual.

Buck, Miller and Caul (1974) report that their study found that females were better senders but no difference existed between the sexes with regard to reception ability of nonverbal emotional communication. Both Buck (1976) and Rosenthal (1974) find in their studies that females are slightly better receivers than males, i.e., females are able to identify the emotions sent with greater accuracy than are males. Based on previous research, then, which seems inconsistent with regard to perceptual ability as related to sex, it was decided to include both male and female respondents in this study.

The form of evaluation device presented a problem, largely because the intention was not to merely have the respondent identify the emotions sent, but rather to somehow to have him/her register his/her subjective interpretation of the communication. Mehrabian (1972) and Mehrabian and Russell (1974) afforded an appropriate device which would allow

respondents to register their subjective judgments. The device essentially is a set of bipolar adjectival scales on which the respondent indicates by placing a check along the continuum both his evaluation in terms of kind and degree. The device has the added advantage of being easily analyzed statistically as the 18 possible bipolar scales factor into the factors of pleasure, arousal and dominance.

Davitz and Davitz (1959) investigated communication of feelings by content-free speech, keeping the flow of speech as "content-free" as possible by having the speakers use the English alphabet as utterance. For this study their method was modified by using the numbers from 1 to 10 in English for speech utterance, the assumption being that perhaps numbers were more "content-free" than letters of a particular language's alphabet.

Ekman (1973, 1975) reports on a broad range of studies involving nonverbal communication and cites 6 emotions which he has found pancultural elements; anger, sadness, happiness, fear, surprise and disgust. These were the 6 emotions to be communicated nonverbally for this study.

To summarize these contributory studies, then: In the area of procedural issues, Mehrabian (1972) and Mehrabian and Russell (1974) afford a device for subjects to use in subjectively evaluating affective communication. Ekman (1973, 1975) suggests the 6 emotions to be portrayed. Davitz and Davitz (1959) offer the procedure of using English alphabet letters to get a "content free" audio stream. Burns and Beier (1973) suggest that both audio and visual modes should be included.

In the area of conceptual issues, Buck (1976) and Rosenthal, *et. al.*, (1974) suggest that respondent sex might be a variable. Therefore, hypothesis 2 is generated — that male and female respondents will perceive the same affective communication differently. Rosenthal, *et. al.*, (1974) suggest the existence of cultural differences in the perception of nonverbal communication. This generates the primary hypothesis of this study — that members of different cultural groups perceive the same nonverbal affective communication differently.

## METHODOLOGY

### *Materials*

The 42-minute black and white master videotape consisted of 36 emotional portrayals of 10-second duration maximum which were separated by intervals in which respondents were to register their evaluations on 9, 7-interval bipolar adjectival scales. Emotional portrayals were in the order; sadness, disgust, anger, surprise, happiness, fear, and first via video only, female then male sender, then via audio only first male then female sender, then via audiovisual, female, then male sender.

Selection of the best emotional portrayals was achieved by first having both the male and the female sender, both White Americans, videorecord 3 "takes" for each emotion. Senders were responding to emotion-evoking aurally perceived paragraphs heard immediately before each portrayal. Their oral utterances, as mentioned earlier, were the English number 1 to 10, said with appropriate emotion. Visual performance consisted mainly of appropriate facial expression combined with some gesture. Later, 3 judges viewed all of the portrayals, each 2 times at 1-week intervals rating each portrayal each time on a 7-point scale from "bad" to

"superior." Portrayals with the highest mean rating for each emotion for each sender were then edited onto the master tape and modified into the modes (audio, video, audiovisual) previously mentioned.

*Participants*

Respondents were undergraduate students at Louisiana State University. The White Americans were enrolled in an introductory speech class, the Black Americans in a basic English composition class and the Latin Americans and Malaysians in a basic speech class designed for non-native speakers of English.

*Procedure*

All testing took place in Louisiana State University's Closed Circuit Television Laboratory during usual class time. Respondents were seated at writing-arm desks arranged in arcs facing a 25-inch television monitor. Groups of respondents numbering no more than 20 for each session found evaluation booklets at desks upon entering. They were asked to complete a cover "Personal Data Sheet" which asked age, sex, native language, time in the United States and languages spoken, then respondents were instructed in the use of the bipolar rating instrument. Next they watched/listened to the master videotape and registered their evaluations.

After the exercise, respondents were "debriefed" regarding the study and sincerely thanked for their participation.

## RESULTS

Raw scores were tabulated for each factor (3) of each emotion (6) for each respondent and analyzed using a split-plot analysis of variance. Results of this analysis are presented in Table 1. No distinction of audio, video or audiovisual mode was made for this phase of analysis.

Hypothesis 1, as stated earlier, maintained that there would be no difference in the perception of nonverbal affective communication as a result of Culture Type of the respondents. As the Respondent Culture Type (RT) column of Table 1 indicates, there was a perceived difference based on the Respondent Cultural Type in 8 of the 18 possible instances. We have no statistical test that we can logically apply to determine if this 8 is a "significant" proportion of this 18 because the factors involved are orthogonal to each other. However, it would seem that if Respondent Cultural Type affected the respondents' perceptions in almost half of the possible instances, then it can safely be said that this variable had a significant influence -- to the perception of nonverbal affective communication of this study, certainly.

*Specific Emotions Displaying Respondent Cultural Type Differential Perception*

The patterns of differential Respondent Cultural Type perceptions will now be examined in more detail, focusing only in those instances which have statistically significant *F* scores as indicated in Table 1, column RT.

Table 1.--F values for dependent variables

| Emotion | RS | RT |
|---|---|---|
| Sadness | | |
| pleasure | 2.035 | 3.093* |
| arousal | 4.357* | 3.023* |
| dominance | 0.057 | 4.401* |
| Disgust | | |
| pleasure | 0.958 | 1.029 |
| arousal | 0.518 | 1.423 |
| dominance | 0.258 | 0.243 |
| Anger | | |
| pleasure | 0.007 | 3.620* |
| arousal | 0.035 | 5.802* |
| dominance | 0.001 | 1.601 |
| Surprise | | |
| pleasure | 0.041 | 2.557 |
| arousal | 0.487 | 0.516 |
| dominance | 0.922 | 8.404** |
| Happiness | | |
| pleasure | 0.991 | 1.147 |
| arousal | 1.327 | 0.415 |
| dominance | 0.115 | 0.049 |
| Fear | | |
| pleasure | 0.057 | 3.375* |
| arousal | 0.344 | 4.343* |
| dominance | 0.119 | 0.942 |

RS = Respondent Sex; RT Respondent Type; MD = Mode;
* Significant at F .05; ** Significant at F .001.

*Sadness.* — Figure 1 illustrates Respondent Cultural Type differences for perception of the emotion Sadness, the factors of Pleasure, Arousal and Dominance. We can say generally that for all 3 factors for each cultural type, White Americans perceived all factors as being toward the "less" end of the scale. The perceptions of Latin Americans seems most like those of the White Americans, and those of Black Americans and Malaysians seem very much alike and toward the "more" half of the scale. However, no Respondent Cultural Type registered on the "more" half of the scale, i.e., with a rating less than the mean of 12.

*Disgust.* — There were no statistically significant differences for perception of this emotion based on Respondent Cultural Type.

*Anger.* — Figure 2 illustrates Respondent Cultural Type differences in the perception of the emotion Anger, the factors of Pleasure and Arousal. The most obvious contrast exists between the mean scores for the two factors displayed. Pleasure is generally extremely to the "less" end of the scale while Arousal is almost as extremely toward the "more" end of the scale. Since the portrayal was of Anger, this should not be too surprising. White Americans had the most extreme mean scores, followed by Latin Americans, then the Malaysians, then the Black Americans. It might be supposed that the White American Respondents were more sensitive to nonverbal cues given by the White American senders.

*Surprise.* — Figure 3 illustrates the highly significant differences according to the Respondent Cultural Type for the emotion of surprise, the factor of Dominance. Only the White American group is really toward the "less" end of the scale. All of the other 3 cultural groups are clustered near the neutral point of 12. Duncan's test confirms this observation, i.e., White American respondents were significantly different from all 3 other respondent types. These 3 Respondent Cultural Types — Latin Americans, Black Americans and Malaysians — were, in turn, not different from each other.

*Happiness.* — There were no statistically significant differences for perception of this emotion based on Respondent Cultural Type.

*Fear.* — Figure 4 illustrates the Respondent Cultural Type differences for the perception of the emotion Fear, the factors of Pleasure and Arousal. As with the same 2 factors described in the discussion of Anger, the White Americans seem to register the greatest interval of any Cultural Type between their mean scores, i.e., the Pleasure mean score and the Arousal mean score. Pleasure mean scores are toward the "less" end of the scale, though not extremely for all cultural groups and Arousal scores are generally toward the "more" end of the scale.

*Summary: Respondent Cultural Type Differential Perceptions*

As stated earlier, Respondent Cultural Type influences perception of the affective portrayals in 8 of 18 of the potential instances. It would seem reasonable to say that the cultural origin of a respondent definitely affected his or her decoding of affective nonverbal messages.

Within these 8 separate instances of differential Respondent Culture Type decoding, the application of Duncan's New Multiple Range Test allowed for pinpointing exactly which cultural group differed from which others. The results of these tests have been summarized

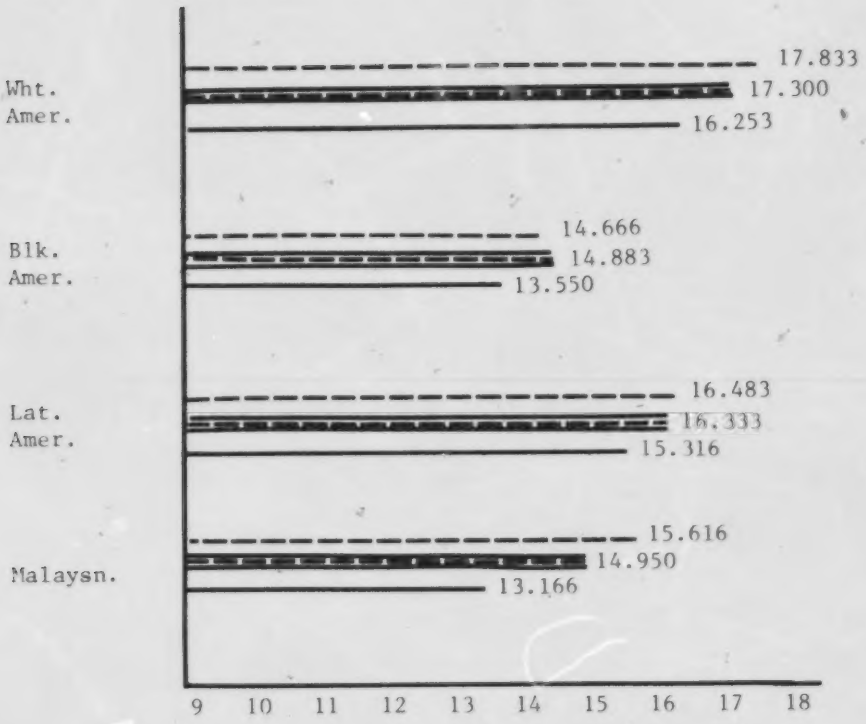


Figure 1. Respondent Type Comparison
Emotion: Sadness
Factors: pleasure
arousal
dominance

◀ more less ▶

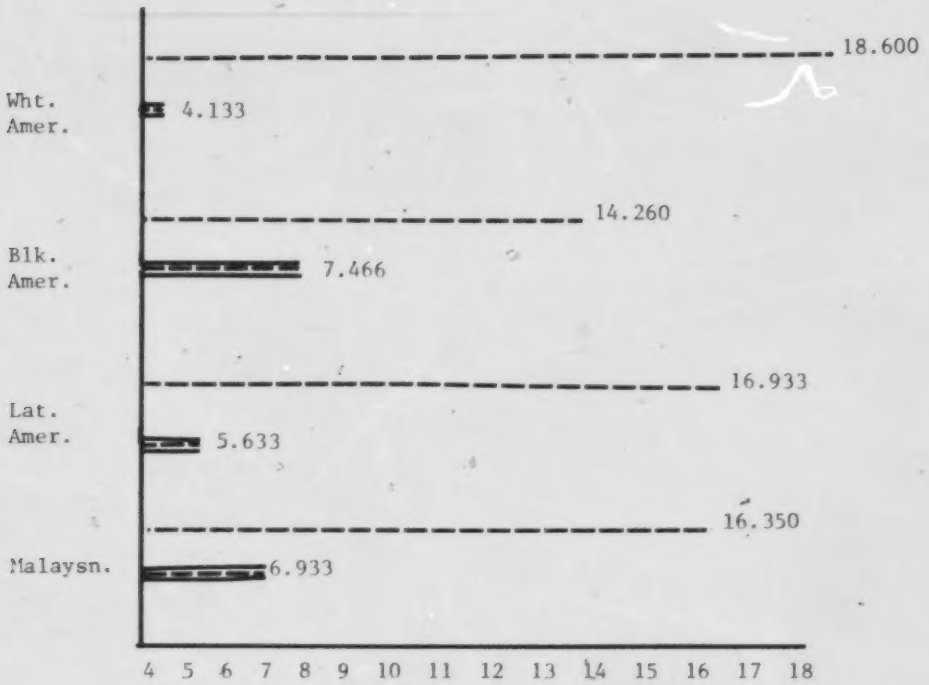


Figure 2. Respondent Type Comparison
Emotion: Anger
Factors: pleasure
arousal

◄ more less ►

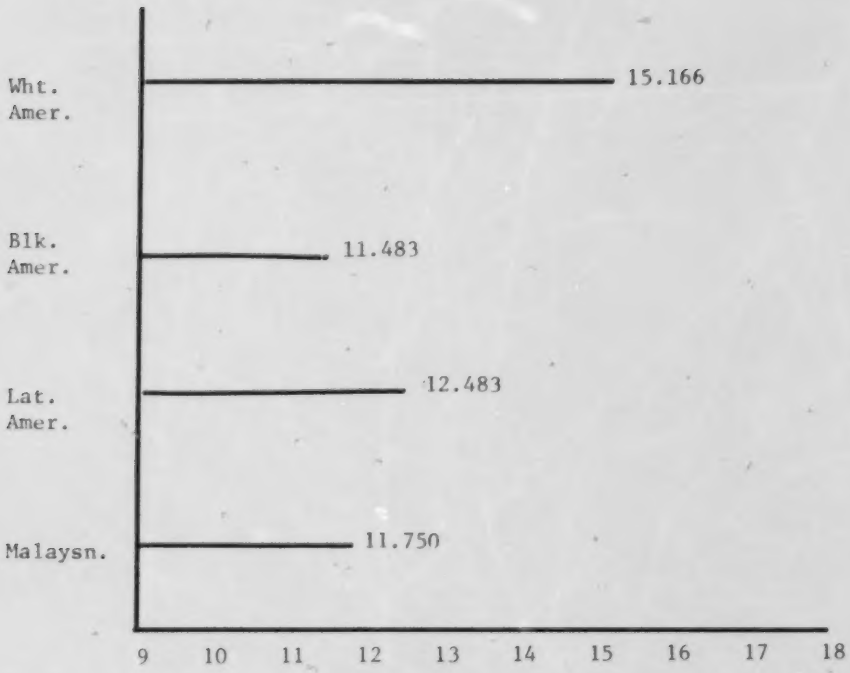


Figure 3. Respondent Type Comparison
Emotion: Surprise
Factor: dominance

◄ more less ►

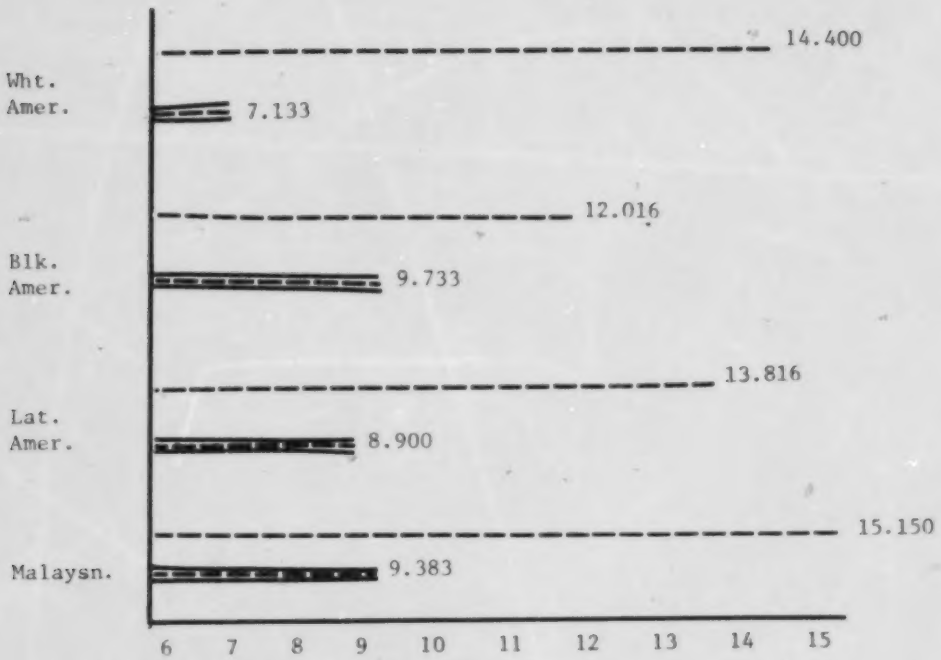


Figure 4. Respondent Type Comparison
Emotion: Fear
Factors: pleasure
arousal

◄more less►

in Table 2. It is apparent from the data presented in this table that for the nonverbal affective communications of this study White Americans and Black Americans were different in more instances than any other cultural group pairing. Perhaps part of the reason for this might lie in the use of only White American senders coupled with the history of tensions between White and Black Americans. The next most different pairing was that of White American/Malaysian, followed by the White American/Latin American pairing. The two pairs with the least (1 each) incidence of differential decoding were Black Americans/Malaysians and Latin Americans/Malaysians. There was no difference exhibited between the Black Americans and the Latin Americans.

The Duncan's Test Summary Table shows decoding according to Respondent Cultural Type for the emotions of Sadness, Anger, Surprise and Fear. Significantly, for the emotions of Disgust and Happiness there was no difference based on the variable of Cultural Type.

Hypothesis 2, as stated earlier maintained that male and female respondents to nonverbal affective communication perceive the communication differently. As is shown in Table 1, Respondent Sex was a significant variable in only 1 of 18 potential instances. It would seem that the research hypothesis needs to be rejected, at least for this study. Respondent Sex was an irrelevant variable in the perception of nonverbal affective communication.

## DISCUSSION

The insignificance of Respondent Sex in decoding of nonverbal affective communication is consistent with results reported by Buck, Miller and Caul (1974) mentioned earlier.

Given that the 4 emotional stimuli were the 6 emotions that Ekman (1973, 1975) claimed had pancultural elements, the results of this study seem at odds with his "pancultural" label. This apparent contradiction may result from a difference in methodology. Ekman used static photographs as stimuli, this study used videotape. Ekman used a procedure of asking the subject to choose 1 of 6 emotional labels for a picture of facial expression while this study asked the respondent to evaluate the emotional display on a number of 7-point bipolar adjectival rating scales. Whatever the reason, using these essentially different stimuli and evaluative devices, results of this study indicate that nonverbal communication of emotion is perceived differently by persons of different cultural origin.

The practical implications of this finding for those who deal personally with individuals of other cultures is considerable.

Respondent cultural type differences in perception of other sorts of communication besides the affective need to be investigated, e.g., the communication of factual information. Implications then, for international students in the English-dominated classroom should be obvious. At the same time, potential applications for planning international communication systems, e.g., via satellite, would be considerable.

Table 2.--Instances of differential decoding based on cultural group of respondent as tested by Duncan's New Multiple Range Test

| Perception Difference Between Culture Group | Factors | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Pleasure | Arousal | Dominance |
| Wht. Amer./Blk. Amer. | 3 | 3 | 2 |
| Wht. Amer./Lat. Amer. | | 1 | 1 |
| Wht. Amer./Malaysn. | | 3 | 2 |
| Blk. Amer./Malaysn. | 1 | | |
| Lat. Amer./Malaysn. | | | 1 |
| Blk. Amer./Lat. Amer. | | | |

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# WOMEN AND THE MASS MEDIA IN A VENEZUELAN CITY

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## I. INTRODUCTION

The mass media have been the subject of considerable interest and study by the feminist movement, both in the United States and abroad. Images of women in the mass media, the effects of media portrayals of women on audience sex-role stereotypes, and levels of participation by women in media organizations are problem areas that have been researched during the 1970's. The World Plan of Action which was unanimously adopted by the International Women's Year Conference held in Mexico City in July, 1975, was critical of the mass media, charging that "the media tend to reinforce traditional attitudes, often portraying an image of women that is degrading and humiliating."[1] However, the Plan also foresees a potentially positive role for the mass media, arguing that the media "could exercise a significant influence in helping remove prejudices and stereotypes."

## II. LITERATURE SUMMARY

### A. Media Use by Women in the U.S. and Latin America

A few studies of demographic correlates of mass media exposure have compared men and women in terms of media use patterns. Wade and Schramm,[2] for example, found a tendency for U.S. women to depend more on the electronic media for public affairs news, while the male audience on the average seemed to prefer print sources. Few sex-related differences were found concerning sources of science and health information, although highly educated males apparently preferred to consult multiple media sources whereas females and less educated males were more likely to concentrate on one information source. Greenberg and Kumata[3] reported that sex had a moderate association with exposure to television, radio, and newspapers in a national sample. Somewhat higher levels of exposure to these three media were found for women. In general, media exposure differences by sex were not large.

Studies in Latin America also report small differences between the sexes in levels of media exposure. Among students at the University of San Jose, Costa Rica, McNelly and Fonseca[4] found similar exposure levels for men and women, but the consequences of exposure seemed to differ. Among men students, media exposure was found to be a fairly strong predictor of knowledge of international affairs and of political activism. Among women, media exposure was unrelated to international affairs knowledge and activism, leading the authors to speculate that relative lack of interest in political affairs by women may lead them to select different kinds of content from the media than are selected by men.

Carter and Sepulveda[5] found no sex differences regarding radio or television exposure levels in a survey of the adult population of Santiago de Chile. Women reported substantially

higher levels of newspaper reading. Men, however, were higher on an "opinion leadership" measure of discussion of news events with other people.

Izcaray[6] examined media exposure levels and their association with knowledge of national public affairs in Barquisimeto, Venezuela. Compared with men, women were relatively low in print media exposure and high in exposure to the broadcast media. Overall, women respondents also had lower levels of knowledge of national affairs. Even when included in a multiple regression model with 18 other demographic and media exposure variables, sex proved to have a significant independent association with knowledge of national affairs. Izcaray argues that sex differences in print media exposure might best be thought of as a consequence (rather than a cause) of the status of women in Venezuelan society. Since the traditional role of the woman includes a lack of political commitment, women have little need to seek out political information in the mass media or elsewhere. A further intriguing finding in the Izcaray study is that in a low socioeconomic subsample more variance in knowledge levels is explained by media exposure for women than for men. It may be that in this most information-deprived subgroup (low SES females) the mass media are being used to try to compensate for an otherwise barren information environment.

B. Images of Women in Media Content

A large number of recent studies have examined images of women in the mass media of the United States. Busby[7] reviews 105 studies, most of which deal with aspects of sex-role portrayals in different U.S. mass media channels. In spite of recent adjustments in some media content which try to present a more differentiated view of women's roles in American society, the almost unanimous conclusion of the content analysis studies is that women are stereotyped by the mass media in ways that reflect traditional concepts of sex roles. Particularly in media content prepared for the large working and middle class female audience, the image of women is often one of innate inferiority and dependence on males. Kinzer,[8] in a typical study, reports that women on afternoon TV soap operas are usually portrayed as bumbling and unable to stay out of trouble. Female characters spend most of their time having affairs, wrecking marriages, getting pregnant, and being sick. Kinzer calculates that the birthrate on afternoon TV is eight times the real U.S. birthrate. In another study, Katzman[9] reports an imbalance in the occupations held by the two sexes. Sixty percent of male characters are doctors, lawyers, or business executives, while 62 percent of female characters are nurses, secretaries, and housewives.

An important comparative study reported by Flora[10] contrasts women's popular magazine fiction in Latin America and the United States. By controlling for both culture and social class, Flora attempted to demonstrate that a separate status factor of sex is revealed in popular fiction. In her cross-cultural comparison of magazine short stories, the author found that Latin American women's fiction has sex-role stereotypes that are even more clearly delineated than in the U.S. literature. Latin American heroines take even less initiative, have fewer legal options, and are more submissive to male authority than are their U.S.

counterparts. Female passivity, which is presented as an overarching feminine ideal in the Latin American magazine stories, includes dependence on males, lack of initiative, ineffectuality, humility, virtue, lack of career, and lack of self-control. Nowhere in her analysis of 202 stories did the author find any reference to the exploitation of women or to the women's rights movement.

C. Effects of Media on Women's Attitudes and Perceptions

In much of the literature on women's images in the media, direct effects on audience attitudes are presumed. Kinzer argues that media images reinforce the values of the oppression of women: "[The image of women in TV soap operas] reinforces the very worst of a female value system. The afternoon soaps foster an ideology based on female passivity, ineptness, and subservience."[11] Flora believes that the attribution of passivity to females in popular fiction is a mechanism of oppression, used to assure that the relations of power between the sexes remain unchanged by teaching women readers to accept their fate without protest.

Katzman also assumes that women's fiction in the media has "great potential power" to influence the audience, however he speculates that there may be positive as well as negative effects. Useful behaviors (such as contraception and abortion) may be demonstrated, solutions to real-life problems (medical and legal difficulties, for example) may be suggested, and taboos removed from the discussion of sensitive subjects among women audience members.

In general, however, it is probably fair to say that a majority of the content analysis studies suggest that the overall impact of mass media portrayals is reinforcement of traditional sex role norms and acquiescence to sexual inequality. Busby points out that little empirical research on the actual effects of mass media portrayals has been carried out due to the difficulty of isolating media effects from other socializing influences. However, one group of studies has demonstrated the modeling effects of TV portrayals of sex roles on young viewers. Studies by Maccoby and Wilson,[13] Lyle and Hoffman,[14] and Beuf[15] concur that media use by children is associated with acceptance of stereotyped occupational sex roles. Frueh and McGhee[16] found that children with high levels of TV exposure are more likely to attribute consistently sex-stereotyped behaviors to a neuter doll than are children with less exposure to television. Miller and Reeves[17] and Atkin and Miller[18] also found modeling effects of TV characters on children's perceptions of sex roles. Since sex-stereotyped portrayals predominate in children's television programming and commercials, the conclusion of Miller and Reeves is that "television must be either directly or indirectly teaching or reinforcing the stereotypes." However, this general conclusion is qualified with the finding that TV can also help differentiate perceptions of "appropriate" sex roles and behaviors when children are exposed to counter-stereotypical portrayals.

The potential impact of mass media content on the attitudes and perceptions of *adult* women has not, to our knowledge, been empirically tested. The content-analysis studies that posit tradition-reinforcing effects on women's consciousness seem to be based on a biased sample of media content — soap operas, advertisements, women's fiction, etc. It may be that other media content cancels or at least dilutes the effects of these particular kinds of content. Furthermore, the possibility (raised by Katzman) that even the worst media content may be presenting some useful and positive information to women should not be

discounted out-of-hand. We are led, then, to consider a different possible kind of effect which is suggested by the literature on national development. This literature argues that the media, especially in traditional and transituational settings, may help create a favorable attitudinal climate for social change and modernization. Mass media disply modern life styles and give audience members the opportunity to empathize with new and different roles. The most comprehensive operationalization of the concept of attitudinal modernity -- the Smith-Inkeles "Overall Modernity Scale"[19] -- includes a variable called "attitude toward women's rights" as one of the 30 attributes which, empirically and conceptually, make up a generalized traditional-modern psychological dimension. The same scale measures attitudes related to mass media use, indicating a connection between media orientation and "modern" attitudes toward women's rights issues.

Schramm argues that the mass media in a traditional society function as a "liberating force" by demonstrating the reality of social and economic change to traditional, isolated, and fatalistic sectors of the population. One hopeful consequence of the resulting intellectual climate for modernization is that for the first time, "Women are coming out from behind their walls and their veils."[20] McNelly[21] and Frey[22] argue that the most important effect of mass media in developing societies may be subtle, long-term characterological change in the traditional-sector audience which gradually becomes a generalized favorable "climate for development." Rogers[23] gathered evidence from development projects around the world to show that mass media exposure is a predictor of modernization-related attitudes such as empathy, innovativeness, and occupational aspirations for children. Rogers concludes that the major mass media function in the national development process is to create a generalized "modernization ethic among peasants."

Since attitudes favoring equality of the sexes are a component of "attitudinal modernity," and since attitudinal modernity in traditional societies seems to be associated with mass media use, it is reasonable to argue that in the Venezuelan setting mass media exposure could be associated with a relatively modern orientation toward sexual equality. This expectation is apparently at odds with the expectations of some of the content analysis studies which predict a tradition-reinforcing media influence on the audience.

## III. HYPOTHESES

Because of the apparent conflict in predictions based on the national development, modernization literature and the other media effects literature reviewed above, the following general non-directional hypothesis is offered: Mass media exposure by women will be associated with attitudes toward sexual equality.

Experience in the Venezuelan culture suggests the need to differentiate the general hypothesis in several ways. First, *age* is expected to exercise a constraining influence on potential media attitude effects. Media content is expected to produce stronger effects among younger Venezuelan women. Older women are more likely to remain committed to traditional norms regardless of counter-attitudinal information from any source.

Second, *social class* is expected to show a relationship to strength of effects, either for or against women's rights. Wealthier, more highly educated women probably have more sophisticated and cosmopolitan friends to inform and influence them about women's issues. Mass media, on the other hand, are expected to be somewhat more influential sources of influence among lower-class women.

Finally, the media which may produce effects on women's attitudes probably need to be differentiated according to content categories. It is expected that exposure to content such as women's popular fiction (soap operas, etc.) and entertainment features (newspaper gossip columns) will be associated with a negative orientation toward women's rights (a relatively "traditional" position), while exposure to news and public affairs content will be associated with a positive (or "modern") orientation.

## IV. THE STUDY

In July and August, 1974, an extensive survey questionnaire was developed and administered by the Venezuelan government's West-Central Regional Development Foundation (FUDECO). A stratified random sample of the adult population of the city of Barquisimeto was drawn, and 636 interviews were completed. The interview schedule included mass media use measures, attitude and knowledge items related to Venezuelan national development issues, and demographics.

Barquisimeto is a regional center that serves a three-state agricultural area. It has a population of around 300,000 representing an extremely wide range of socioeconomic levels. Three universities attract a large student population to the city. A full range of mass media is readily available — a dozen radio stations, several local newspapers plus the major national dailies from Caracas, a variety of Venezuelan and international magazines, and three television channels which rebroadcast programming imported from Caracas. The city is participating in the period of rapid economic growth produced by the country's booming oil economy. In-migration of rural population to cities, expanding educational opportunities, and the rapid adoption of new products and life styles are all part of the profound social change that the city is experiencing.

The questionnaire contained two kinds of mass media exposure measures. First, overall exposure levels to different media channels were measured by asking respondents to estimate the amount of time they spend on a normal day (a) listening to the radio, (b) watching television, and (c) reading the newspaper, and by asking how many different magazine titles are read on a regular basis. Second, degree of exposure to a series of different content categories for each individual medium was measured using five-point Likert scale estimates.

In order to consider women's media use patterns in more detail, it was decided to partition the sample of women by age and socioeconomic status. The decision to partition the sample into two socioeconomic subgroups was made for three reasons: (1) some rather different media behaviors and media effects were hypothesized for different socioeconomic levels (see hypotheses), (2) a dichotomous rich-poor conflict model is easy to deal with conceptually and is very common in popular literature and political discussion in Venezuela, and (3) our composite index of socioeconomic status[24] appeared to be discontinuous in its distribution, suggesting the possibility of a "natural" ddividing line between discrete social classes. The decision to divide the sample into two age groups at age 30 was more speculative. Social change processes in Venezuela in recent years have tended to accentuate the differences between the present generation of young adults and their parents. Rapid increases in educational opportunities, a sharp accelleration in migration from rural areas to the cities by the young, and dramatic changes in lifestyles have produced a "generation gap" which is a source of considerable interest and concern to Venezuelans.[25] It was decided that the possibility of differences in communication behaviors by age group could most easily be evaluated by dividing the sample into two age groups.

Since much of the literature related to women and the media is concerned, explicitly or implicitly, with possible effects of media content on women's attitudes toward women's roles and rights, it was decided to examine relationships between media exposure levels and several attitudinal items which had been included in the questionnaire. Six items dealing with women's participation in society and women's role in the family were selected for cluster analysis. One item was discarded and the remaining five items formed two internally consistent indices. One index contains three items which appear to be related to the role of the woman in the family. These items were summed to form what was called a "Family Role" index.[26] The remaining two items deal with educational opportunities and political participation for women. These items were summed to form what was called a "Social Role" attitude index.[27] These two indices were not highly correlated and it was decided to treat them as two separate dependent variables.

Since we were limited to secondary analysis of existing data, it was not possible to explore the dimensions of attitudes toward women's issues. How representative or valid these two attitudinal indices might be will require further research. As a matter of convenience, it was decided to label responses which favor sexual equality as "modern;" a preference for sexual inequality (male dominance) was labeled "traditional."

## V. RESULTS

The first part of our data analysis will be a descriptive treatment of media use patterns by the women in our sample. No specific hypotheses were proposed for this section. The second part of our analysis presents a tentative examination of relationships between media exposure levels and our limited measures of attitudes toward women's roles.

### A. Patterns of Mass Media Exposures

Overall, the women in our sample reported levels of exposure to the mass media which are higher than those reported by men. Women respondents listen to the radio an average of 90 minutes per day; men respondents average 60 minutes. Women report an average of about 1 hour and 25 minutes of daily television viewing, compared to about 1 hour and 15 minutes for men. Men read only one magazine on a regular basis; women average nearly two. Only on the measure of time spent reading the daily newspaper do men exceed women — men average about 45 minutes per day, compared to 35 minutes for women. Such aggregated statistics, of course, tell us little about the nature of women's media habits, but they do at least seem to demonstrate equality of *access* to mass media information channels.

Statistically significant differences were found between men and women for almost every content category as well. For the most part, women report significantly higher levels of exposure to entertainment formats than do men, regardless of medium. Women are higher than men in their preference for radio music programs, soap operas, religious shows, and news. Women also report more exposure than men to television musical shows, drama, and soap operas; men report higher levels of exposure to news, political programs, and crime and adventure series. From the newspaper, women are more likely than men to select the entertainment features — gossip columns, society news, religious features, and comics.

The general impression gained from comparison of media exposure patterns for the two sexes is one of surprisingly high exposure to all media by women, with a consistent preference for entertainment and "soft" news. Compared with women, men are more public affairs and news oriented in their media preferences.

B. Mass Media and Attitudes Toward Women's Rights

When responses to the attitudinal items about women's roles are tabulated for the four subgroups of women respondents, the two indices behaved in different ways. Surprisingly, there is virtually no difference among age and social class subgroups in responses to the "Social Role" attitude index. On the "Family Role" attitude index, however, differences are larger. A two-way analysis of Variance of "Family Role" attitude responses reveals significant main effects for both age and socioeconomic status.[28] The largest main effect is associated with Socioeconomic status, with lower SES women responding in a relatively "traditional" manner (p=.01). The main effect associated with age is small but significant (p=.01) -- younger women are somewhat more "modern" in their responses to the items. The interaction between age and sex was not significant.

Of greater interest is the possibility that media exposure measures might be related to the attitudinal indices. When correlations between selected media use measures and the "Social Role" attitudinal index were examined, no strong relationships among variables were found. There is little variance in responses to the items in this scale, suggesting that they may tap an equalitarian value about which there is general consensus among Venezuelan women.

The "Family Role" attitude index, on the other hand, produced considerably more variability in responses, and relationships between communication variables and the attitudinal dependent variable were somewhat stronger (see Table 1).

TABLE 1

Pearson Correlation Coefficients Between Media Use Measures and "Family Role" Attitude Index by Age and Socioeconomic Status (WOMEN RESPONDENTS)

| | LOW SES | | HIGH SES | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Under 30 (N=101) | Over 30 (N=105) | Under 30 (N=66) | Over 30 (N=79) |
| Radio Time | -.134 | -.120 | -.134 | -.180 |
| TV Time | +.257 | +.042 | -.140 | -.063 |
| Newspaper Time | +.291 | +.220 | +.027 | +.156 |
| Magazine Total | +.347 | +.392 | +.191 | +.022 |
| TV News | +.337 | +.099 | -.047 | -.039 |
| TV Soap Operas | +.206 | +.219 | -.245 | -.013 |
| Newspaper Political News | +.318 | +.305 | +.477 | +.116 |
| Newspaper Society News | +.335 | +.224 | -.143 | +.048 |
| Newspaper Gossip Columns | +.262 | +.193 | -.147 | -.122 |

Comparison of the relationships within the four subsamples reveals an interesting tendency which is repeated for several of the variables. Except for a small negative relationship with radio, the "Family Role" attitude index is positively related to the other sources of information among low socioeconomic status women. The relationships are consistently of less magnitude among the upper socioeconomic status women, and in the case of several potential information sources (TV exposure, TV news, TV soap operas, and newspaper gossip columns) the direction of the relationship is *reversed*. Some of the same sources that show a positive relationship to more modern "Family Role" attitudes among lower SES women have a negative relationship among high SES women. Since it was found that high SES women are substantially more "modern" in their responses to the "Family Role" attitude items than the low SES women to begin with, this reversal suggests a kind of regression or "leveling" effect of some mass media channels on these attitudes. The more traditional, lower SES women may experience a modernizing influence on their attitudes as a result of media use, while the more modernized, higher SES women could experience the opposite. The channels where the reversal is strongest — television soap operas and newspaper gossip columns — may be reinforcing sexual norms which are intermediate between the norms of the traditional low status women and the norms of the more progressive middle and upper class women.

## VI. DISCUSSION

A major finding in this study of the mass communication habits of 351 women living in Barquisimeto, Venezuela is that media use is uniformly high — higher among women than among men. We feel that high exposure levels suggest a great potential of mass media channels for supporting the social change goals and programs of planners who hope to shape the future of the country. The elimination of sexual injustice and discrimination is certainly one of these goals. The fact that the relationships found between media exposure and attitudes toward women's roles are not large may simply be the consequence of the fact that most media content at present is not *intended* to stimulate social change. Levels of exposure to different content categories seem to consistently reflect the fact that entertainment formats are the main media offerings to the poor and oppressed in Venezuelan society. Powerful media effects on women's attitudes cannot realistically be anticipated while there is so little explicit treatment of women's issues in the types of media content that women are most likely to select.

The examination of relationships between communication sources and attitudes toward "family roles" produced some interesting but tentative findings. The apparent "leveling effect" suggested that media entertainment formats in this setting reflect an intermediate attitudinal orientation which may have something of a modernizing impact on the relatively traditional poor woman and a conservative or domesticating effect on the relatively progressive middle and upper class women. If the middle socioeconomic segment had been excluded from this analysis, the leveling effect might have been more clearly delineated.

The relationships between mass media use and "Family Role" attitudes are strongest among low socioeconomic status women under thirty years of age. Presumably these women are relatively isolated from cosmopolite companions and depend more on media sources for information about social change movements. While their orientation is relatively traditional, they are probably less committed to traditional ideologies than are their elders. The subject

of women's rights — husband's authority, which in our index includes topics such as family planning, family size, and husband's authority — are probably very salient to young women between 18 and 30 years of age. These women therefore can be expected to be attentive and open to information on such subjects, wherever it appears.

The relationship between magazine readership and "family role" attitudes is particularly intriguing. The magazines read by working class women, poor housewives, and maids are popularly assumed to carry a domesticating message.[27] Our finding suggest the opposite. We might speculate that the heroines of the popular women's fiction magazines and "fotonovelas," who are perceived by feminist scholars as hopelessly downtrodden and exploited, may seem quite assertive and modern to a lower class Venezuelan housewife.

The impact of television is less apparent, and general statements about the impact of the medium are difficult to justify from this data. News and public affairs programming in general shows a positive association with a more "modern" orientation toward "family roles" among women viewers. Entertainment programming may actually have something of a homogenizing effect between social strata which cancels out (giving the appearance of a null effect) in the aggregate.

Our conclusions concerning the impact of communication channels on women's attitudes are based on data gathered at a single point in time. Obviously, hypotheses concerning attitude *change* will have to be tested using longitudinal designs. Also, a more comprehensive investigation of attitude change will require development of comprehensive and validated attitude scales concerning women's issues. Finally, comparative studies in varied cultural settings would be useful to determine which dimensions of attitudes about women's roles are culture-specific, which are universal, and how communication can best serve the needs of women and men in a rapidly changing world.

## FOOTNOTES

1. Quoted from the *World Plan of Action*, adopted by the World Conference of the International Women's Year on July 1, 1975, from the *U. N. Chronicle*, Vol. XII, July 1975.

2. Serena Wade and Wilbur Schramm, "The Mass Media as Sources of Public Affairs, Science and Health Knowledge." *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 33, 1969, pp. 197-209.

3. Bradley S. Greenberg and Hideya Kumata, "National Sample Predictors of Mass Media Use." *Journalism Quarterly*, Vol. 45, pp. 641-646 (Winter 1968).

4. John T. McNelly and Eugenio Fonseca, "Media Use and Political Interest at the University of Costa Rica." *Journalism Quarterly*, Vol. 41, 1964, pp. 225-231.

5. Roy E. Carter, Jr., and Orlando Sepulveda, "Some Patterns of Mass Media Exposure in Santiago de Chile." *Journalism Quarterly*, Vol. 41, 1964, pp. 216-224.

6. Fausto Izcaray, "Efectos diferenciales de los medios de comunicacion de masas sobre los niveles de informacion de los habitantes de Barquisimeto." *Serie Comunicacion Social y Desarrollo*, No. 2. FUDECO: Barquisimeto, Venezuela, 1974.

7. Linda J. Busby, "Sex-Role Research in the Mass Media." *Journal of Communication*, Vol. 25, No. 4, Autumn 1975, pp. 107-131.

8. Nora Scott Kinzer, "Soapy Sin the Afternoon." *Psychology Today*, August 1973, pp. 46-48.

9. Nathan Katzman, "Television Soap Operas: What's Been Going on Anyway?" *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 35, 1972, pp. 200-212.

10. Cornelia Butler Flora, "The Passive Female and Social Change: A Cross-Cultural Comparison of Women's Magazine Fiction." In Ann Pescatello, ed., *Female and Male in Latin America*. University of Pittsburg Press, 1973.

11. *Op. cit.*, p. 48.

12. *Op. cit.*, p. 122.

13. Eleanor E. Maccoby, and W. C. Wilson, "Identification and Observational Learning from Films." *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 55, 1957, pp. 76-87.

14. Jack Lyle, and Heidi R. Hoffman, "Children's Use of Television and Other Media." In *Television and Social Behavior*, Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1972, Vol. IV, pp. 129-256.

15. Ann Beuf, "Doctor, Lawyer, Household Drudge," *Journal of Communication*, 24(2), 1974, pp. 142-145.

16. Terry Frueh, and Paul McGhee, "Traditional Sex Role Development and the Amount of Time Spent Watching TV." *Developmental Psychology*, 1975, Vol. 2, No. 1, p. 109.

17. Mark M. Miller, and Byron Reeves, "Children's Occupational Sex Role Stereotypes: The Linkage Between Television Content and Perception." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Communication Association, Chicago, April, 1975.

18. Charles Atkin, and Mark Miller, "The Effects of Television Advertising on Children: Experimental Evidence." Paper presented to the Mass Communication Division at the annual meeting of the International Communication Association, Chicago, April, 1975.

19. D. H. Smith and Alex Inkeles, "The O. M. Scale: A comparative Socio-Psychological Measure of Individual Modernity." *Sociometry*, Vol. 29, 1966, pp. 353-377.

20 Wilbur Schramm, "Communication Development and the Development Process." Chapter 2 in Lucian W. Pye, ed., *Communications and Political Development*, Princeton University Press, 1963, p. 56.

21. J. T. McNelly, "Mass Communication in the Development Process." In H. Fischer, and J. C. Merrill, International Communication, Hastings House: New York, 1970, pp. 158-165.

22. Frederick W. Frey, The Mass Media and Rural Development in Turkey. Report No. 3, Rural Development Research Project, Center for International Studies, M.I.T., Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1966, pp. 128-129.

23. Everett M. Rogers, *Modernization Among Peasants: The Impact of Communication*. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969, p. 116.

24. The SES index is composed of weighted values for income, education, level of living (a consumption level index including automobile and electrical appliances), and a neighborhood rating. The index was divided so that about 60% of the sample was included in the "lower SES" segment and 40% in the "upper SES" segment. The partition decision point corresponds to a monthly family income of roughly $350 (U.S.).

25. Demographic statistics from the *Annario Estadistico Agropecuario* (Republica de Venezuela, Ministerio de Agricultura y Cria, Caracas, July 1973) document rapidly changing educational and employment opportunities for the young. Changes in lifestyles, language, and values are apparent to the observer but harder to document.

26. The "Family Role Index" included the following items: (1) "Only the husband should speak for the family," (2) "It is the husband's problem alone to decide

whether or not to use methods for not having children," and (3) "The Catholic woman should not use contraceptives."

27. The "Social Role Index" included the following items: (1) "Women should participate in politics and in the government as much as men," and (2) "In a family the daughters should receive as much education as the sons."

28. A classic regression approach to the two-way analysis of variance was used to compensate for unequal cell sizes. The approach is described in Norman H. Nie, *et. al., Statistical Package for the Social Sciences,* Second Edition, McGraw-Hill (p. 407).

# INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION FOR MULTINATIONAL MANAGERS

**Philip R. Harris**
**Dorothy L. Harris**

## INTRODUCTION

As the social, economic, ethnic, religious, cultural, and travel barriers which tend to separate human beings from one other continue to crumble, American workers need to learn the skill of dealing with differences, especially in people. Apart from the humanitarian consideration of providing such training to lessen culture and future shock, there are pragmatic reasons why organizations should undertake "cross-cultural education" for their employees, especially those in management and sales positions. The term cross-cultural education, as used here, refers to the study of factors and influences which give a people identity and make them distinctive; it includes the analysis of what an individual outside that group should understand and do in order to facilitate that person's communication with those of that other culture.

This type of learning experience has a dual value. For the United States citizen going abroad on foreign assignment, for a short or long term period, such information and insight can not only facilitate adjustment, but fosters client relations and promotes international good will. It can cut costs of operating overseas, increase productivity, and improve organizational relations. Domestically, similar arguments can be adapted to justify cross-cultural training for supervisors of minority groups from micro-cultures within this country is in harmony with affirmative action goals. As more and more blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, American Indians and other ethnic groups are brought into the mainstream of the American work force and provided with equal employment opportunities, management requires more knowledge and sophistication regarding these peoples and how to interact more effectively with them.

This article will report on an action research training project which the authors have undertaken with multinational managers in one of America's largest corporations in order to meet the cross-cultural educational needs described above.

## RATIONALE

The program subsequently designed for this purpose was based on the following assumptions:

> (1) the world is fast becoming a global village because of advances in transportation and communication, societies are becoming more pluralistic, and a world culture is in the process of emerging – add to such philosophical considerations, the realities of foreign competition for international markets and the case can be made that American representatives abroad should be more cosmopolitan and culturally sophisticated;

> (2) the typical American company, association, or government agency is likely to provide adequate training for employees going on foreign assignment in international business or economics and possibly in the language of the place – the missing ingredient seems to be a general, cross-cultural preparation which should be an integral part of international training programs;
>
> (3) the present management and sales development efforts within this country for employment at home would also benefit by being supplemented with cross-cultural input – as the American workforce becomes more pluralistic at all levels of operations, modern leaders require such education to be more effective with our own microcultures, as well as with the organization's culture;
>
> (4) the cross-cultural training should be general in approach, rather than oriented toward a specific culture – such a universal tact toward human groups is preferable to provide broad understandings which the individual can then apply to the variety of cultural groups and intercultural experiences which will occur increasingly during the course of work history.

Essentially, the thesis of this action research was that all management and leadership development should include some broad, cross-cultural education, whether the individual is going to serve outside his native culture or within it. However, as a pilot project and to test a learning design for this purpose, the emphasis was placed upon managers who are concerned with multinational operations. Originally designated as an international business institute, the course was eventually retitled a cultural awareness workshop.

The authors first posited their concepts for this course in 1972 when they stated:

> Cross-cultural training should increase employee effectiveness when serving outside one's own country or when working with minority groups within the United States.[1]

Their position was substantiated by several other researchers, most notably Kraemer who hypothesized:

> When persons communicate with each other, or when they attempt to do so, each makes certain assumptions about the cognitions of the other. They may make these assumptions knowingly, or more frequently, without awareness . . . . cultural differences can be expected to assume much greater importance than other factors in contributing to false assumptions involving projected cognitive similarity.[2]

As Hartley and Hartley have noted, the effects of cultural conditioning are sometimes so pervasive that people whose experience has been limited to the norms of their own culture

Pedersen agrees that there is a pressing need for a model to train professionals in cross-cultural communication skills, as well as for more training designs and materials in this regard.[5] Two government sponsored groups seem to have had the most notable success in this regard – the Peace Corps[6] and the U. S. Navy.[7] Perhaps the project reported here will contribute to the process of developing adequate paradigms and resource aids for cross-cultural training of leaders and managers.

## OBJECTIVES

This action research centers around a three-day Cultural Awareness Workshop which was designed to apply behavioral science insights to the field of management, especially with regard to its cross-cultural aspects. The specific aims of the program are:

1) To encourage greater sensitivity and more astute observations in areas and situations which are culturally different;

2) To foster greater understanding in dealing with representatives of microcultures within the participant's own country;

3) To improve customer and employee relations by creating awareness of cultural differences and their influence on behavior;

4) To develop a more cosmopolitan business representative or manager who not only understands the concepts of culture, but can apply these learnings in interpersonal relations and to the organization's culture.

The workshop was intended primarily for multinational managers, but encouraged attendance on the part of those who supervise minority employees and are concerned about Equal Employment Opportunity/Affirmative Action Plans.

## TARGET POPULATION

The pilot project consisted of two, three-day Cultural Awareness Workshops conducted in February 1973 and November 1975 for the management of Westinghouse Electric Corporation and its affiliates. This company is transnational and is among the twenty largest corporations in the world. The program is under the sponsorship of Westinghouse Learning Corporation and is listed as Course Number 635 in their CATLOG OF COURSES AND SEMINARS-1976, enrollment being restricted to upper level management. Participation is selective and based upon nominations of corporate executives. It is part of a dimension of courses intended for the career development of vice presidents, divisions and division general managers, plant managersheadquarter's directors.

**FIGURE "A"**
**PROFILE OF TRAINEES**

| GROUP I – Febr. 1973 – Total No. 15 | | GROUP II - Nov. 1975 - Total No.10 | Number |
|---|---|---|---|
| BASE OF OPERATIONS: | | | |
| U.S.A. | | GRAND TOTAL: | 25 |
| New York | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| Maryland | 4 | 2 | 6 |
| Pennsylvania | 8 | 4 | 12 |
| Georgia | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Virginia | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| FOREIGN | | | |
| Belgium | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Brazil | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| PRIMARY BUSINESS CONCERN | | | |
| INTERNATIONAL | | | |
| Licenses/patents | 4 | 1 | 5 |
| Ventures/sales | 3 | 3 | 6 |
| Operations | 3 | 4 | 7 |
| Defense systems | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| Training | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| AMERICAN MICROCULTURES | | | |
| Employee relations/ black school liaison | 2 | | 2 |
| PRINCIPAL EXPECTATIONS: | | | |
| Better understanding of behavioral reactions of people from other backgrounds - | | | 6 |
| Increased sensitivity to cultural differences and expectations of other peoples - | | | 5 |
| Improved communications with foreign nationals - | | | 7 |
| Learn more about international business experiences - | | | 7 |
| GEOGRAPHIC AREA OF FOCUS: | | | |
| Worldwide | 5 | 4 | 9 |
| Europe | 3 | 3 | 6 |
| Asia | 3 | 1 | 4 |
| Latin America | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| Canada | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| American microcultures | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| -Puerto Rico | 0 | 1 | 1 |

| ORGANIZATIONAL ROLES | |
|---|---|
| EXECUTIVES | No. |
| President, Int'l.-Defense & Public Systems | 1 |
| Vice President, World Regions | 1 |
| DIRECTORS | 1 |
| Product Design-Research | 1 |
| Multinational Programs-Electronic Systems | 1 |
| Engineering - Consumer Products | 1 |
| Public Relations - Power Systems | 1 |
| Overseas Licensing | |
| COORDINATORS/CONSULTANT | 1 |
| South American Industry Systems | 1 |
| European Industry Systems | 1 |
| World Trade | |
| ATTORNEY | |
| Patent Counsel | 1 |
| GENERAL MANAGERS/MANAGERS | 14 |

Customer Order Engineering & Licensee, Electronic Ordinance Systems, Strike Systems Marketing, Defense & Electronics, Trading Company, Commercial Air Conditioning, Industrial Processes, Electronic Systems Support, Tubular Products, Training & Development, Administration, Business Planning

The general characteristics of the two groups reported in this study were white males, largely based in the Eastern part of the United States, and college graduates without any previous study of cultural anthropology. Figure A provides descriptive data about the subjects. A meaningful profile of the trainees emerges by studying the totals and the highest general concentrations: Of the 25 participants, 23 were based in the United States, and two were located abroad. With regard to their primary business concern for taking this course, 7 were involved in international operations, 6 in international ventures sales, 5 in international patents and licenses, 3 in international defense systems, 2 in international training, and only two indicated their major concern the American microcultures, principally because of employee relations or black school liaison work. The principal expectations or reason for taking the course manifested by the group in rank order was to learn more about international business experiences, improve communication with foreign nationals, cross-culture understanding of human behavior, and increased sensitivity to cultural differences. In terms of the geographic focus of their activity relative to the workshop program, 9 noted worldwide interests, 6 concentrated on Europe, 4 on Asia, 3 on Latin America, 1 on Canada, and two were working inside the United States and concerned with its subcultures. A variety of organizational roles were evident among these employees of a mutlinational corporation. The listing is diverse, but that section of Figure A does offer some indicators as to what type of management is likely to seek out cross-cultural training. Only one of the total group, incidentally, was born outside the continental United States.

## METHODOLOGY

The learning approach utilized in this project was *action learning*. As defined by the author in his book, *Organizational Dynamics*, the term means:

> Action learning is a form of adult education that emphasizes variety of method and maximum participation by the learner, usually by some form of group process. Action is fostered during the sessions, and as a result of the training. Learning is promoted by instrumentation for participant data gathering; input by the trainers, multi media, and resource materials; group assignments and experiences.[8]

The program consisted of nine learning modules of approximately three and a half hours each. The three-day workshop also included two evening sessions. The schedule of activities is outlined in Figure B, and featured a variety of training techniques to foster interest and participation. During the opening session each of the trainees received a large workbook containing the course objectives, schedule, roster of participants, trainers' resumes, and sixteen articles pertinent to the subject matter (some of the latter were reprints from the author's test, ORGANIZATIONAL DYNAMICS, while others were from current periodicals). Also included in the workbook or as handouts were inventories, case studies, and group exercise materials. The articles were the basis of suggested reading during and after the workshop; an extensive bibliography was also provided.

**FIGURE "B"**

**CULTURAL AWARENESS WORKSHOP**

SCHEDULE/DESIGN

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| A.M. | **Pre-Conference Activity** | **Learning Module II** | **Learning Module V** | **Learning Module VIII** |
| 8:30 | Mailing of pre-registration Material: objectives, schedule, article, "Training for Cultural Understanding." | Communication Inventory; "Cross Cultural Communication"-slides; Problem Identification Exercise; Film-"More Than Words;" Discussion. | "Increasing Cultural Awareness"-slide presentation/programed learning exercise; Group task on crosscultural success and 'faux pas' | Analysis of results on C Shock Test; "Cu Influences on De Making - input bombard Simulation: Moon XX study. |
| 12:00 | | Lunch | Lunch | Lunch |
| P.M. | | **Learning Module III** | **Learning Module VI** | **Learning Module IX** |
| 1:00 | TRAVEL TIME | Reading Assignment "Intercommunication and the Process of Change" -conceptual model analysis; Input bombardment group exercise. | Reading Assignment "Identity Crisis and Cross-Cultural Relations" -conceptual model analysis relative to culture shock; Administration of Culture Shock Test. | Departure prepara "Effective Performan Intercultural Exch -panel discussion; c problem solving ex Summary. Evaluation of worksho Closing. |
| 1:30 | | | | |
| 5:00 | Registration | Social Adjustment Hour - Dinner | Social Adjustment Hour Dinner | |
| Evening | **Learning Module I** | **Learning Module IV** | **Learning Module VII** | **Post-Conference Activit** |
| 7:30 | ORIENTATION Introduction Data Collection Workbook Analysis "The Multinational Manager | Film-"Is It Always Right to be Right" - discussion; PERCEPTION: three group exercise. | "Case Study in Cultural Awareness;" Film - "The Japanese" Analysis and discussion of articles on the Japanese. | Continued reading of workbook articles at covenience; carrying Action Plans determi last session. |
| 9:30 | as a Cosmopolitan. Film- "Acceleration of Seventies" | | | |

The content of both the workbook and the workshop presentations by the training consultants was organized around eight key "concepts":

(1) THE CONCEPT OF THE COSMOPOLITAN – the sensitive, innovative leader or manager who is more pluralistic in approach and operates comfortably in a global environment. Emphasis is on a multinational representative who can manage accelerating change, even in one's own life space, capable of broadening perceptions and attitudes as a result of cross-cultural experiences. The focus is on a life style and communication skills that are appropriate to cyberculture; a flexible approach to people which copes effectively with differences.

(2) THE CONCEPT OF CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION – examination of behavioral communication of self image, perception, needs and values, communication obstacles and skills, and non-verbal communication within the context of differing cultures. The focus is on the variety of communication symbols and their meanings according to the cultural group which is interacting with the trainee. Exploration of the culture gap between youth and adult and its implication for communication.

(3) THE CONCEPT OF INTERCOMMUNICATION AND CHANGE – the modes of human interaction that cross national, ethnic, and cultural boundries. Communication is a prime dynamic that determines the kind and rate of change. Communication explosion and overload phenomena as related to electronic technology and the overstepping of literacy. The characteristics of communicators in the "fourth world" who cope effectively with rapid change, expanded knowledge, and mixed messages.

(4) THE CONCEPT OF CULTURAL AWARENESS – understanding the phenomenon of culture and its typical characteristics (e.g., language and communication, dress and appearance, food and feeding habits, time and time consciousness, rewards and recognition, relationships and family, attitudes and beliefs, values and standards). Examination of the rational/irrational/non-rational cultural influences on behavior; the explicit/implicit elements of culture; the cultural patterns and themes, kinship systems; cultural diversity and universals; sub or microcultures within the majority culture.

(5) THE CONCEPT OF ACCULTURATION – the paradigm of four stages of identity crisis (awareness, rage, introspection, and integration) as applied to an in-depth experience outside one's culture or to members of microcultures within the U.S.A. Examination of Hall's Map of Culture in terms of human activity, primary message systems, and method of interaction. Analysis of other intercultural communication models. Exploration of adaptive mechanisms to prevent or lessen culture/future shock.

(6) THE CONCEPT OF CULTURAL INFLUENCES ON DECISION MAKING – review of decision making/problem solving theory and the effect of culture on both processes. Experiential learning on the subject through simulation exercise, case study on village culture, and brainstorming.

(7) THE CONCEPT OF EFFECTIVE PERFORMANCE IN INTERCULTURAL EXCHANGES – application of communication and cultural theory and learnings to specific cross-cultural situations (e.g., organizational culture, wives on overseas' assignments, corporate preparation for international business activity, improved employee relations with American minority workers).

(8) THE CONCEPT OF EMERGING WORLD CULTURE – the breaking of traditional barriers between peoples of different cultures, the homogenization of society, the species in transition to a new state of being (cyberculture). Examination of the challenge for adaptation and personal change, and the intercultural experience as an opportunity for personal and professional development. Analysis of the need for improved international cooperation and business relations.

A variety of educational techniques, as has been already indicated, were employed to cover this content. In addition to printed material and lectures by the trainers, audio-visual aids (films, slides, and tape cassettes), instruments for data gathering (communication and change inventories, culture shock test, evaluation forms) and group dynamics (case studies, management games, brainstorming, role playing, and input bombardment), as well as socialization exchanges, were utilized in the workshop.

## RESULTS

Two immediate outcomes of this pilot project were evident during the workshop. The first were the results from the administration of a Culture Shock Test, developed by Professor William Redden, President of Organizational Tests, Ltd. Fredericton, New Brunswick, Canada, and K. R. Powell.[9] In the test administration guide provided, the authors describe this instrument:

> The Culture Shock Test is designed to acquaint those who expect to work outside their own culture with some of the things that may get them into trouble . . . .Culture shock is a psychological disorientation caused by misunderstanding, or not understanding, cues from another culture. It arises from such things as lack of knowledge, limited prior experience, and personal rigidity. The eight scales test for western ethnocentrism, cognitive flex, behavioral flex, cultural knowledge specific, cultural knowledge general, customs acceptance, interpersonal sensitivity.[10]

It is a self-scoring instrument consisting of eighty items in which the participants had only two choices – to agree or disagree with the statements provided. The norms were based on restrictive samples, but offered a basis for the trainees to evaluate themselves in terms of three scores – high, average, and low – on the eight factors. The score on factor "A" – western ethnocentrism – is interpreted in the opposite to the other seven scores. A high score on "A" suggests a propensity toward culture shock, while a low score on the other factors indicates the tendency toward such shock in the cross-cultural experience. A group profile was formulated for the participants in both workshops in this study, and the interpreted results and their implications are contained in Figure "C". The participants appeared to find this experience quite meaningful, especially in terms of theipersonal scores.

FIGURE "C"

CULTURE SHOCK TEST RESULTS

GROUP PROFILES

| FACTORS* | GROUP** | NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS SCORING N=23 HIGH | AVERAGE | LOW | TOTAL No. | IMPLICATIONS RE. PROPENS TOWARD CULTURE SHOCK |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A. Western Ethnocentrism | I | 0 | 10 | 3 | 1 | Above average |
| | | | | | 17 | Average |
| | II | 1 | 7 | 2 | 5 | Below average |
| B. Cross cultural Experience | I | 2 | 6 | 5 | 6 | Below average |
| | | | | | 11 | Average |
| | II | 4 | 5 | 1 | 6 | Above average |
| C. Cognitive Flex | I | 2 | 7 | 3 | 2 | Below average |
| | | | | | 15 | Average |
| | II | 0 | 8 | 2 | 5 | Above average |
| D. Behavior Flex | I | 2 | 6 | 5 | 5 | Below average |
| | | | | | 11 | Average |
| | II | 3 | 5 | 2 | 7 | Above average |
| E. Cultural Know-ledge:Specific | I | 5 | 6 | 2 | 10 | Below average |
| | | | | | 11 | Average |
| | II | 5 | 5 | 0 | 2 | Above average |
| F. Culture Know-ledge-General | I | 6 | 7 | 0 | 11 | Below average |
| | | | | | 12 | Average |
| | II | 5 | 5 | 0 | 0 | Above average |
| G. Cultural Behav-ior:General | I | 4 | 7 | 2 | 8 | Below average |
| | | | | | 12 | Average |
| | II | 4 | 5 | 1 | 3 | Above average |
| H. Interpersonal Sensitivity | I | 9 | 4 | 0 | 19 | Below average |
| | | | | | 4 | Average |
| | II | 10 | 0 | 0 | 0 | Above average |

*In "A" a high score is a propensity toward culture shock; in B-H a low score indicates this tendency.

** Group I = 13 participants, Nov. 1973; II = 10 participants who took test, Feb. 1975. Total group Number 23.

FIGURE "C"

CULTURE SHOCK TEST RESULTS

GROUP PROFILES

| GROUP** | NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS SCORING N=23 HIGH | AVERAGE | LOW | TOTAL No. | IMPLICATIONS RE. PROPENSITY TOWARD CULTURE SHOCK |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I | 0 | 10 | 3 | 1 | Above average |
| | | | | 17 | Average |
| II | 1 | 7 | 2 | 5 | Below average |
| I | 2 | 6 | 5 | 6 | Below average |
| | | | | 11 | Average |
| II | 4 | 5 | 1 | 6 | Above average |
| I | 2 | 7 | 3 | 2 | Below average |
| | | | | 15 | Average |
| II | 0 | 8 | 2 | 5 | Above average |
| I | 2 | 6 | 5 | 5 | Below average |
| | | | | 11 | Average |
| II | 3 | 5 | 2 | 7 | Above average |
| I | 5 | 6 | 2 | 10 | Below average |
| | | | | 11 | Average |
| II | 5 | 5 | 0 | 2 | Above average |
| I | 6 | 7 | 0 | 11 | Below average |
| | | | | 12 | Average |
| II | 5 | 5 | 0 | 0 | Above average |
| I | 4 | 7 | 2 | 8 | Below average |
| | | | | 12 | Average |
| II | 4 | 5 | 1 | 3 | Above average |
| I | 9 | 4 | 0 | 19 | Below average |
| | | | | 4 | Average |
| II | 10 | 0 | 0 | 0 | Above average |

is a propensity toward culture shock; in B-H a low score indicates this tendency.

cipants, Nov. 1973; II = 10 participants who took test, Feb. 1975. Total group Number 23.

Of the 25 participants who took the workshop, 23 completed the Culture Shock Test. Examination of the profile compiled in Figure "C" indicates only minor differences on the scores of Group I (1973) with those of Group II (1975). Two general trends can be observed for Group I – Almost a third of these participants scored low on cross cultural experience and behavior flexibility, indicating some propensity for future shock on those factors; the majority of the group had average or better scores on general and specific cultural knowledge, and interpersonal sensitivity, indicating little propensity toward culture shock on these factors . . . . On the other hand, Group II had a majority who scored in the normal range on all factors except interpersonal sensitivity where they all scored above average; half were also above average on specific and general culture knowledge, confirming the trainer's observation that the 1975 class was more sophisticated, generally, in terms of international experience.

Realizing that the Culture Shock Test is still an experimental instrument which provides only crude indicators, the data does provide some general, tentative conclusions about both groups of managers in this multinational corporation. (1) The majority of the participants in both workshops scored in the normal range, showing an average or below average propensity toward culture shock – only two individuals indicated, on the basis of this instrument, a serious tendency toward such shock possibilities. (2) Approximately one fourth of the total group showed some tendency toward culture shock on the following factors – cross cultural experience, cognitive and behavioral flex. (3) The majority of the two groups generally scored well on these factors – western ethnocentrism, general and specific cultural knowledge, general cultural behavior and interpersonal sensitivity. (4) Neither group had anyone who scored low or below average on general cultural knowledge and interpersonal sensitivity, thus indicating little tendency toward culture shock on these factors. (5) a majority did not indicate a serious propensity toward culture shock on most of the eight factors.

With the exception of the two internal training managers present for two workshops, 23 of the Westinghouse participants filled out a post session evaluation form provided by the external consultants during the closing session. An examination of Figure "D" below shows a summary of the groups' reaction to the Cultural Awareness Workshop.

A review of the findings in Figure "D" clearly indicates all but one of the 23 participants had their expectations fulfilled in attending this Cultural Awareness Workshop, and that the program will assist them in their management/arrangements practice. They rated the speakers as effective* and the facilities as quite satisfactory. Again, all but one gave the overall program a better than average rating, and 20 would recommend the workshop unreservedly.

An eighth item on the evaluation questionnaire offered the participants an opportunity to make suggestions and recommendations, obviously an expansion upon item five relative to future changes. A summary of their comments is as follows:

## FIGURE "D"

## POST EVALUATION

1. To what extent were your expectations in coming to this program fulfilled or not?

| GROUP | VERY MUCH | FAIRLY WELL | SOMEWHAT | VERY LITTLE | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I | 9 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 14 |
| II | 6 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 9 |
| TOTAL | 15 | 7 | 1 | 0 | 23 |

2. Do you believe the program will assist you in improving your management practice?

| GROUP | VERY MUCH | FAIRLY WELL | SOMEWHAT | VERY LITTLE | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I | 9 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 14 |
| II | 5 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 9 |
| TOTAL | 14 | 8 | 1 | 0 | 23 |

3. How effective were the speakers and conference leaders?*

| GROUP | EXCELLENT | GOOD | FAIR | POOR | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I | 10 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 14 |
| II | 6 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 9 |
| TOTAL | 16 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 23 |

4. How would you rate the facilities, meals, program arrangements, etc.?

| GROUP | EXCELLENT | GOOD | FAIR | POOR | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I | 11 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 14 |
| II | 4 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 9 |
| TOTAL | 15 | 8 | 0 | 0 | 23 |

5. What changes would you like to see in this program?
   -More case histories and problems for solving.
   -More emphasis on special but unusual customs of various cultures.
   -More visuals
   -Omit decision making portion
   -Better ventilation - possibly no smoking.

6. How would you rate the overall program from your point of view?

| GROUP | EXCELLENT | GOOD | FAIR | POOR | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I | 10 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 14 |
| II | 6 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 9 |
| TOTAL | 16 | 6 | 1 | 0 | 23 |

7. Would you recommend that others in your organizations participate in programs presented by Management & Oreganization Development Inc.?

| GROUP | YES | NO | WITH MODIFICATION | NOT SURE | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I | 13 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 14 |
| II | 7 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 9 |
| TOTAL | 20 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 23 |

- course should be required of those managers going abroad on assignment for the first time, rather than those who have already served outside their culture

- program is valuable for all managers who have contact with minority employees from American microcultures

- since the course is far more applicable in content than just in the context of overseas relations, I suggest the announcement description be changed to reflect this, and promote it with managers who may never work outside the U.S.A.;

- action plans by trainees: will reread resource papers in the workbooks; will investigate the use of instruments for data gathering from my employees; will recommend workshop as a requirement for Westinghouse employees and spouses going on overseas assignment; will give Culture Shock Test to my wife and subordinates; will obtain and show communication slides to my subordinates; will read the references in bibliography; will cultivate relationships with foreign visitors and residents.

Item two in the above evaluation permitted commentary on the most helpful and least helpful parts of the course. Regarding the most helpful, three each indicated that the cross-cultural communication presentation and the culture shock profile fit that category, while one each pointed up the information received on acculturation and global trending, the Japanese case study, and the identity crisis presentation. With reference to the least helpful, two cited the "brainstorming" either because they had been exposed to this technique or could not implement the findings; two referred to the decision making portion since they had received that in other management courses.

## CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This pilot project has demonstrated that it is possible to design and conduct a meaningful learning experience to promote greater cross-cultural understanding on the part of American managers. But it is only a beginning, and further research on the subject is urgently needed. As a result of their participation in these two Cultural Awareness Workshops, the professional staff has arrived at these tentative conclusions and recommendations regarding the program design described in this report:

(1) Cross-cultural education should become a regular part of all management development. Not only is an increasing number of American management going abroad on international assignment, but the rising consciousness and expectation of the increasing numbers of minorities in the American work force make this kind of training imperative.

*Dr. Philip Harris, a psychologist, conducted both courses; the co-trainer in 1973 was Dr. Maneck Wadia, an anthropologist, and in 1975, Dr. Dorothy Harris, a psychologist.

(2) More emphasis should be placed upon the sharing of conceptual models which the managers can then apply to their own situation; our experience was that the participants were very responsive to theoretical paradigms and instrumentation.

(3) It would appear that one or more learning modules might be developed around the subjects of personal change, actual problem cases of managers based on intercultural experiences, or on negotiation challenges in a foreign culture. This might be preferable to the topic of decision making which is adequately covered elsewhere in management training.

(4) There is a need for self-learning packages on cultural awareness which a manager could use with the family as a preparation for an overseas' assignment that is to involve the spouse and children.[11]

(5) Further investigation should be made on organizational policy and training needs for the "re-entry" of managers into their own culture after extensive service abroad. Several participants in these workshops expressed their fears in this regard for either themselves or their colleagues on international assignment outside the culture. This may be a trend indicator to support the findings of a previous study concerning reverse culture shock experienced by American managers when they come home.[12] It also may explain why some are reluctant to be re-assigned back to the United States.

In summary, cross-cultural training would seem to offer the following benefits for an organization's employees, especially at the management level:

1) the increase in awareness and innovation which is stimulated by the process of acculturations;

2) the increase in effective performance when serving outside one's own country, or when working with minority groups within the nation;

3) the improvement of customer and organizational relations by the reduction of time waste, misunderstanding and confusion resulting from culture shock;

4) th lessening of the possibilities for "future shock" as a result of such learning and insight;

5) the preparation of personnel realistically for a more pluralistic society and world culture.

The emerging theory of "cultural ecology" reminds us that all humans in different groups and societies develop unique forms of production, tools, and knowledge to use and develop a particular environment.[13] Human social and technological advances are the legacy of all mankind, and cultures should borrow from one another to promote a new level of human development or homogenization. Intercultural education can make a significant contribution to this process.

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[9]Redden, W. J. CULTURE SHOCK INVENTORY - MANUAL (Fredericton, N. B., Canada: Organizational Tests Ltd., 1975.) 52pp.

[10]Redden, W. J. TEST ADMINISTRATION GUIDE (Fredericton: Organizational Tests, Ltd. 1972), p. 5.

[11]Resulting from a research project of Dr. Philip Harris, (Harris International Ltd., Suite 1205, 110 West A Street, San Diego, Ca. 92101) has a set of colored slides and cassette on "Increasing Cultural Awareness" which were used in the workshop reported here. Presently under development is a six cassette and manual instructional system entitled, "Cultural Influences on Organizational Behavior," available in 1976 from Training Systems Divisions, Westinghouse Learning Corp., Pittsburgh, Pa. 15222.

[12]Maddox, Robert C., "Problems and Trends in Assigning Managers Overseas," PERSONNEL, American Management Association, Jan-Feb. 1971, pp. 53-56.

[13]ANTHROPOLOGY TODAY (Del Mar, Ca.: CRM Books, 1971), p. 505.

**FIGURE "B"**

**ULTURAL AWARENESS WORKSHOP**

SCHEDULE/DESIGN

**Learning Module II**

Communication Inventory; "Cross Cultural Communication"-slides; Problem Identification Exercise; Film-"More Than Words;" Discussion.
Lunch

**Learning Module III**

Reading Assignment "Intercommunication and the Process of Change" -conceptual model analysis; Input bombardment group exercise.

Social Adjustment Hour - Dinner

**Learning Module IV**

Film-"Is It Always Right to be Right" - discussion; PERCEPTION: three group exercise.

**Learning Module V**

"Increasing Cultural Awareness"-slide presentation/programed learning exercise; Group task on crosscultural success and 'faux pas'
Lunch

**Learning Module VI**

Reading Assignment "Identity Crisis and Cross-Cultural Relations" -conceptual model analysis relative to culture shock; Administration of Culture Shock Test.

Social Adjustment Hour
Dinner

**Learning Module VII**

"Case Study in Cultural Awareness;" Film - "The Japanese" Analysis and discussion of articles on the Japanese.

**Learning Module VIII**

Analysis of results on Culture Shock Test; "Cultural Influences on Decision Making - input bombardment; Simulation: Moon XX; Case study.
Lunch

**Learning Module IX**

Departure preparations "Effective Performance in Intercultural Exchanges" -panel discussion; creative problem solving exercise; Summary.
Evaluation of workshop.
Closing.

**Post-Conference Activity**

Continued reading of workbook articles at one's covenience; carrying out of Action Plans determined in last session.

# A MODEL OF GROUP DEVELOPMENT FOR INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION WORKSHOPS[1]

William B. Gudykunst

## Introduction

The first Intercultural Communication Workshop (ICW) was held in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, in 1966 under the auspices of the Regional Council for International Education (Hoopes, 1970). From this recent beginning the number of workshops conducted has increased significantly. Common to all of these workshops is their emphasis on increasing awareness among the participants concerning the role their cultural background, values and learned behavior play in influencing their perceptions and interactions with others (see Althen, 1975; Abinader and Hoopes, 1975; and Moran, 1975). One function of the leader (or facilitator) in an ICW is "to facilitate communication and interaction among the participants" (Clarke and Hoopes, 1975; p. 62). While it is implicitly recognized that one responsibility of the facilitator is to help the participant understand the workshop's group process, there has been very little written concerning the process of group development in an ICW. This paper will help amend this problem by presenting a model of group development for ICWs.

The model that will be presented in this paper is based on observations of the ICW at the University of Minnesota.[2] In developing the model two criteria were used: (1) the model should describe the patterns (stages) of development that a "typical" group goes through and (2) it should be of use to facilitators in "measuring" the development, learning and maturity of the group. By a mature group we mean a group that can resolve its internal conflicts, mobilize its resources and allow for the personal growth of the members.

The model being described is based on Bennis and Shepard's (1956) general theory of group development with modifications and additions made to take into account the special nature of an ICW. Two sets of dimensions will be discussed: (1) the "group dimensions" – these dimensions describe the patterns of group development that appear to take place in an ICW; and (2) the "individual dimensions" – these dimensions describe "stages" that individuals appear to go through while participating in an ICW. As the model was developed each dimension is meant to be independent of the other dimensions, in other words, it's possible to be in stage one on one dimension, stage two on another and possibly stage three on a third. Even though the dimensions are designed to be independent of each other many of them are highly interrelated and changes in one will correlate with changes in the other.

## The Group Dimension

1. *Emotional Modality:* In the beginning of any group there appears to be an initial dependence on the facilitators or people leading the group. At some point in the life of a group the participants stop relying on the leaders and begin to rely on their own feelings, impressions and judgments to guide their actions. In a mature group there also appears to be another process that takes place – interdependence. Interdependence of the members develops as the group works out its own procedures, standards and values appropriate to the goals and resources of the group.

2. *Content Themes:* The initial content of an ICW is the cultural mores of the U.S. and foreign cultures represented in the group. As the group develops there is a tendency to move to a more personal level and for participants to begin to discuss their own personal revelations about their own experiences. About the same time the group begins to talk about the group's past. The third stage develops when the group begins to look at the relationships in the group and the factors affecting them. Probably one important distinction between an ICW and other forms of human relations training is the focus in this stage on how cultural factors (i.e., values, patterns of thinking, assumptions, etc.) affect the relationships in the group.

3. *Dominant Roles (Central Persons):* Initially the dominant roles in an ICW are held by the co-facilitators. As the group develops (i.e., moves into the independent stage) the assertive, aggressive members of the group begin to "dominate" the interaction. A third stage of development in this dimension is a more general distribution of participation with none of the members dominating the conversation and all participants sharing more or less equally in the discussion.

4. *Group Structure:* Initially the group is structured into three sub-groups: the facilitators, the U.S. students and the foreign students. This stage will vary greatly in length, but early in the group's development there is a tendency for the group to restructure into two new subgroups based on the degree of intimacy that the participants desire in the group. By degree of intimacy we're referring to the participants' preferences to either talk about intercultural communications on a theoretical level or to engage in it at an interpersonal level. As the group matures it is usually able to work through this disagreement and come to a consensus on the level of interaction to take place. It's at this point that the group unifies and develops solidarity, cohesion and trust.

5. *Group Climate:* The initial climate is one of strangeness. As the participants get to know each other the strangeness gives way to a feeling of comfort (the level of comfort will vary from group to group). Since comfort is not the most productive climate for a group to "work" in, there appears to be another stage we've called "creative tension." By creative tension we mean a climate with a low, tolerable level of tension, a growing sense of trust and a general feeling of "if we use our resources we can really learn something here."

6. *Group Movement Facilitated By:* This dimension is highly related to Dimension 3 (Dominant Roles). Initially the group is guided by the appointed leaders (the facilitators). As some members become more independent and/or aggressive they often begin to share the leadership functions with the facilitators. Ideally as the group matures it will go one step further and the group (as a whole) will begin to facilitate its own movement.

7. *Group Activity:* When any group first comes together the initial activity is self-oriented behavior on the part of the participants. As the group begins to get acquainted and the self-oriented behavior decreases, the search for "valid" content subjects begins. This search is usually highly interrelated to the second stage of Dimension 4 – the restructuring of the group based on levels of intimacy desired. As the group unifies there is an increase in the participation and the participants begin to work toward a common set of group goals.

8. *Communication Style in the Group:* Initially the communication in an ICW is very "message-centered" – in other words, the participants assume communication takes place by formulating and encoding ideas which are transmitted through a medium to someone. As the

group progresses the facilitators can model the shared meaning process and assist the group to begin to work toward developing shared meanings when communicating (and not just sending messages). Ideally the next logical step is for the group to develop a more "meaning-centered" style of communication. By meaning-centered communication we mean the realization that human communication is a process of meaning-creation rather than just message transmission – meanings are not in messages, they are in people.[3]

9. *Method of Dealing with Conflict:* Initially in an ICW the participants will usually avoid dealing with any type of conflict – they will either ignore it or say it doesn't exist (i.e., repress it). If "work" is to be accomplished it's impossible for a group to continue to avoid the conflict. The easiest way to deal with the conflict that is present is to "intellectualize" it. By intellectualizing conflict we are referring to the discussion of the conflict on a cognitive level rather than an interpersonal level. As the group matures the facilitator can help the group go from intellectualizing conflict to "working through" or dealing with it as a group. To enter this stage of development it is necessary for the group to be committed and have developed a certain level of trust.

The Individual Dimensions

1. *Attitude of Participants in the Group:* Initially the participant's attitude in the ICW is one of enthusiasm, a broad curiosity to learn new things and no distrust of the other members. As the participants get to know each other and begin to interact on an interpersonal level a feeling of warmth develops. Associated with the warmth is a focusing sense of purpose, a questioning and discussion of trust in the group. The third stage is one of supportiveness, a more directed sense of purpose and a growing level of trust.

2. *Foreign Student Self-Image in the Group:* Initially the foreign students in an ICW view themselves as representatives of their cultures who have a responsibility to teach the U.S. students about their cultures. As they begin to interact more with the U.S. students they begin to see themselves more as individuals who happen to be from another culture, but not representatives of that culture. There also appears to be another change that takes place – the foreign students come to view themselves as "culturally empathic individuals." By culturally empathic individuals we mean an individual who recognizes the influence of their culture on their behavior and communication.

3. *U.S. Student Self-Image in the Group:* Initially the U.S. students in an ICW view themselves as individuals. From the interaction with the foreign students and an analysis of that interaction the U.S. students begin to recognize that their behavior and communication has been influenced by the U.S. culture. Ideally another step will follow and the U.S. students will come to more fully understand the influence that their culture has had on them and they will also come to veiw themselves as "culturally empathic individuals" too.

4. *Facilitator's Role:* Initially in an ICW the facilitators are responsible for guiding the group and getting it under way. In the initial stages the facilitators will also begin to make a few process interventions. As the group develops and some of the participants begin to share the leadership functions, the facilitators model behavior for the group. This modeling takes

the form of analyzing the group's process, making process interventions and looking at the cultural influences on behavior and communication. When the group takes more responsibility for determing its own direction and analysis, the facilitator's role becomes that of an "ideal" ICW participant.

## Conclusion

The patterns of group development discussed in this paper are meant to describe a "typical" Intercultural Communication Workshop. As would be expected, not all workshops will reach the third stage of development on all of the dimensions discussed. In this respect stage three can be seen as an ideal or goal to strive for. As yet there are no empirical data to support the existence of the dimensions and/or stages described. The model has been presented in terms of subjectively verifiable central tendencies so that it may be of use to workshop facilitators at other institutions. It is hoped that this model will stimulate further discussion about the nature of group development in Intercultural Communication Workshops and help facilitators to guide their groups, identify problems and assess progress.

## PATTERNS OF GROUP DEVELOPMENT IN AN INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION WORKSHOP

| Group Dimensions | Stage 1 | Stage 2 | Stage 3 |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Emotional Modality: | Dependence on leaders | Independence | Interdependence |
| 2. Content Themes: | Cultural Mores | Personal revelation and group process | Relationships in the group and factors affecting them |
| 3. Dominant Roles (Central Persons): | Facilitators | Assertive, agressive group members | More general distribution of participation |
| 4. Group Structure: | Three sub-groups: facilitators, U.S. and foreign students | Restructuring of group into two sub-groups based on degree of intimacy desired | Group unification – solidarity, cohesion and trust |
| 5. Group Climate: | Strangeness | Comfort | Creative tension |
| 6. Group Movement Facilitated By: | Facilitators | Facilitators and/or assertive participant | Group |
| 7. Group Activity: | Self-oriented behavior reminicent of most social gatherings | A search for "valid" content subjects | High rate of participation and interaction; acceptance of and working toward group goals |
| 8. Communication Styles in Group: | Message-centered | Message-centered, but beginning to look for shared meanings | Meaning-centered |

## PATTERNS OF GROUP DEVELOPMENT IN AN INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION WORKSHOP

| Stage 1 | Stage 2 | Stage 3 |
|---|---|---|
| Dependence on leaders | Independence | Interdependence |
| Cultural Mores | Personal revelation and group process | Relationships in the group and factors affecting them |
| Facilitators | Assertive, agressive group members | More general distribution of participation |
| Three sub-groups: facilitators, U.S. and foreign students | Restructuring of group into two sub-groups based on degree of intimacy desired | Group unification – solidarity, cohesion and trust |
| Strangeness | Comfort | Creative tension |
| Facilitators | Facilitators and/or assertive participant | Group |
| Self-oriented behavior reminicent of most social gatherings | A search for "valid" content subjects | High rate of participation and interaction; acceptance of and working toward group goals |
| Message-centered | Message-centered, but beginning to look for shared meanings | Meaning-centered |

## PATTERNS OF GROUP DEVELOPMENT IN AN INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION WORKSHOP (Cont.)

| Group Dimensions (Cont.) | Stage 1 | Stage 2 | Stage 3 |
|---|---|---|---|
| 9. Method of Dealing With Conflict: | Avoided | Intellectualized | Worked through |

| Individual Dimensions | Stage 1 | Stage 2 | Stage 3 |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Attitude of Participants in the Group: | Fnthusiasm, a broad curiosity and no distrust | Warmth, a focusing sense of purpose, a questioning and discussion of trust | Supportiveness, more directed sense of purpose and growing trust |
| 2. Foreign Student Self-Image in Group: | Representative of culture | Individual | Culturally empathic individual |
| 3. U.S. Student Self-Image in Group: | Individual | Beginning to recognize the influence of culture | Culturally empathic individual |
| 4. Facilitators Role: | Guide the group and begin to make a few process interventions | Model behavior of analyzing group process, make process interventions and share leadership | Participant in the group and model behavior of "cultural inquiry" |

**PATTERNS OF GROUP DEVELOPMENT IN AN INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION WORKSHOP (Cont.)**

| Stage 1 | Stage 2 | Stage 3 |
|---|---|---|
| Avoided | Intellectualized | Worked through |

| Stage 1 | Stage 2 | Stage 3 |
|---|---|---|
| Enthusiasm, a broad curiosity and no distrust | Warmth, a focusing sense of purpose, a questioning and discussion of trust | Supportiveness, more directed sense of purpose and growing trust |
| Representative of culture | Individual | Culturally empathic individual |
| Individual | Beginning to recognize the influence of culture | Culturally empathic individual |
| Guide the group and begin to make a few process interventions | Model behavior of analyzing group process, make process interventions and share leadership | Participant in the group and model behavior of "cultural inquiry" |

## FOOTNOTES

[1]The writer gratefully acknowledges the assistance of Robert Moran and Janet Bennett in the development of this model and William Howell's valuable suggestions after reading an early draft of the paper.

[2]For a complete discussion of the ICW at Minnesota, see Moran, 1975.

[3]For a more complete discussion of meaning-centered communication, see Barnlund, 1962.

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# THEORETICAL PREMISES FOR ANALYZING THE RHETORIC OF AGITATION AND CONTROL IN LATIN AMERICA

**Sherry Devereaux Ferguson**

John Waite Bowers and Donovan J. Ochs in 1971 formulated a model for looking at the rhetoric of agitation and control. They discussed the processes of escalation and the characteristics that mark the moves from one level to the next in the hierarchy. [1] This model seems a highly useful one for looking at rhetoric in our American society. The plateaus appear valid ones for this culture and this historical period.

In examining another cultural model, however – in this case, Latin American rhetorical processes – an expansion and certain modifications in this model appear warranted. The terms used by Bowers and Ochs give a useful means of grappling with a definition of the processes of agitation and control. But cultural idiosyncracies make necessary additional considerations in trying to determine the nature and the hierarchy of the plateaus of dissent and control. The purpose of this paper is to suggest guidelines for a model based upon Bowers' and Ochs' construct that will be valid for considering Latin American rhetorical processes. For persons concerned with intercultural communication and conflict resolution, establishing comparative models could be useful in identifying problems that might occur when two nations with vastly different conflict resolution patterns try to resolve differences. An understanding of rhetorical patterns in nations such as Latin America could aid in alleviating the criticism that we often direct toward such countries. Throwing bombs in our culture is considered one of the final plateaus of protest. Threats of violence and destruction of property in other nations may be simply an effort to test the power capability of the establishment or to demonstrate a power capability. Such a step may be one of the first levels of dissent, not the final, so long as lives are not involved. The act has a different meaning. What may be considered by one culture as an acceptable and "normal" pattern may be regarded by another as deviant behavior. International relations cannot progress very far until such differences are understood and accepted.

If a distinction is made between "real revolutions" and "typical revolutions," Latin American political systems undergo little change. Whereas a "real revolution" structures a new regime and ratifies new power relationships, a "typical revolution" leaves the political system much as it has been prior to the revolt but includes new power contenders. [2] An agitative group demonstrates a power capability sufficient to be recognized by the other contenders, and the system adjusts to allow the entry of the new group. Political scientists call the process "co-optation." Latin America witnesses many "typical revolutions," but few "real" ones.

Charles A. Anderson defines a contender for power as any individual or group that seeks "to have its demands implemented through state machinery, to control the allocation of values for the society through state machinery, or to make specific sources of power legitimate for the society through the exercise of a power capability." [3] Richard Adams identifies a power capability as the property of a group or individual that enables that entity to be politically influential. [4] Possession of a power capability becomes the necessary qualification for admission to the political arena.

Anderson's and Adams' discussions furnish a valuable context for considering Latin American rhetoric. A model formulated by Bowers and Ochs provides a further basis for understanding the rhetoric of agitation and control in these Hispanic cultures.

To Bowers and Ochs, the term "agitation" connotes a situation where "people outside the normal decision-making establishment advocate significant social change and encounter a degree of resistance within the establishment such as to require more than the normal discursive means of persuasion." [5] Bowers' and Ochs' definition would specify the power contenders of whom Anderson and Adams speak as agitators. To Bowers and Ochs, the term "control" refers to "the response of the decision-making establishment to agitation." [6] Thus, once the power contenders have been admitted to the political arena, the rhetoric practiced would become that of "control."

In discussing the rhetoric of agitation and control, Bowers and Ochs use a classificatory scheme whereby they identify vertical deviants and lateral deviants. Vertical deviants are those agitators who subscribe to the value system of the establishment but dispute the distribution or benefits of power within the value system. Lateral deviants dispute the value system itself.

In considering Latin American rhetorical processes, a distinction needs to be made between the lateral deviant and the person who practices lateral deviance but does not adhere to its philosophy. In most Latin American countries, the regular process for getting any type of social change is to question the efficacy and "value" of the system. Rarely do agitators acknowledge that merit exists in any aspect of the system whose practices are being challenged. [7] Thus, solutions are typically "radical, definitive, absolute, and recognized as utopian even by those who advance them." [8] The power contenders refuse to recognize the potential of compromise. Thus, the Latin American agitator generally practices lateral deviance, even if ultimately he is willing to accept the compromises that the vertical deviant accepts. While the aim of the lateral deviant and the vertical deviant are not the same, the rhetorical practices of the two may be similar.

In the period prior to recognition by the system, the vertical deviant will attempt to demonstrate his power capability. His rhetoric may emphasize his military backing; his familial ties; support by the Church; the control of natural resources or economic institutions; bureaucratic expertise; the capacity to mobilize, organize, and aggregate consent; or the ability to create non-institutionalized violence.

Certain progressive strategies considered by Bowers and Ochs to typify the agitative process – petition of the establishment, promulgation, solidification, polarization, nonviolent resistance, escalation/confrontation, guerrilla and Gandhi, and finally, guerrilla efforts – may or may not be practiced by Latin American deviants. Engaging public opinion in the early stages of mobilization may be more detrimental than helpful to the agitative movement. As Brazilian ex-President Joao Goulart discovered, acquiring a plebiscite may be risking extermination. [9] Capturing the attention of the power elites too soon may be disastrous. Far more important is using whatever strategy is necessary to demonstrate a power potential at a propitious moment. Thus, agitators may consider petition, promulgation, or other strategies irrelevant to the requirements for gaining recognition by the establishment. For example, if a relatively unpopular president assumes office, dissidents

may stage a "trial" coup. The purpose of such a coup may not be to gain power at all, but simply to test the power bases of the establishment and to demonstrate a potential threat to that group. This action may better serve the purposes of the agitators in perpetrating social change that any logical progression from petition to guerrilla warfare. Finding itself on the outskirts of the political processes, the Catholic Church may decide that excommunication is the most advantageous strategy its hierarchy can use to control the current president (as happened during the Peronist era in Argentina.) Petition would make its position seem weaker. Promulgation would appear ill-suited to the Church's traditional image. On the other hand, a group whose power base is public opinion may find petition the ultimate rhetorical weapon.

Anderson summarizes the essence of this argument:

> In Latin America, no particular techniques of mobilizing political power, no specific political resources are deemed more appropriate to political activity than others. No specific sources of political power are legitimate for all contenders for power . . . In democratic society, the organization of consent according to prescribed norms is *generally* reinforced by possessors of other power capabilities, and in the long run, democratic processes serve as a sort of "court of last resort" in structuring power relationships. In contrast, in Latin America generally, democratic processes appear as an *alternative* to other means of mobilizing power. [10]

The preceding discussion applies not only to the vertical deviant, but also to the lateral deviant. Not only would the latter find many of the strategies less than useful in the accomplishment of his aims, but he would be disdainful of using them in a system that has closed those channels of communication since the seventeenth century.

In Bowers' and Ochs' model, the ability to proceed from one step to the next logically and patiently earns sophistication points for the rhetorical strategist. In predicting the outcome of an agitative movement, Bowers and Ochs assign positive values to the higher sophistication levels. This criterion for acquiring "success potential" points may not be a very valid one for Latin American agitative movements, primarily because the purpose of that rhetoric is not simply to persuade, but also to demonstrate a power capability. Certain strategies may only encumber or be irrelevant to the accomplishment of that task.

An incorporation of Anderson's and Adams' theories regarding power bases seems essential in considering not only the agitative rhetoric but also the control rhetoric in those countries. A regulatory agent may adopt any of four strategies: avoidance, suppression, adjustment, or capitulation. The course of action chosen by a control group will depend upon (1) the agitator's success at demonstrating a poser capability, and (2) the classification of the agitator as a vertical or lateral deviant. Three situations that may arise seem especially pertinent to discuss.

First, if an agitative movement fails in its attempt to present evidence of a power capability, the establishment has no need for concern. The strategy of avoidance will probably appear the most feasible one. Demonstrations occur daily in South American and Central American

nations; agitation that carries with it no real threat will probably be ignored. Few governments are secure, and the leaders stay busy trying to cope with the more threatening contenders.

Second, if the agitative movement succeeds in its effort to demonstrate a power capability, the establishment will consider whether the movement represents vertical or lateral deviance. If the power contender is a vertical deviant, the system will adjust to allow the entry of the new member. Essential to gaining admittance, however, is the understanding that the power elite will not try to evict the existing membership. [11] Because Latin America's most dominant method of dealing with power contenders is co-optation, Anderson terms the resulting system a "political museum".[12] He speaks of the "learning experience" that new members undergo. Not only must the system adjust, but also the ex-agitator must adjust. He learns the limits of dissent. Often a novice will exceed those limits, such as did the Venezuelan Betancourt regime in 1947:

> The first president ever elected with mass participation and direct vote held office for only seven months before he was overthrown by a new alliance of the army with the holders of economic power. Under the circumstances this development was not surprising. Accion Democratica had taken steps to consolidate its electoral power but had not established the electoral system as the accepted way to power . . . The economic sector did not accept the economic and social reforms promulgated by Accion Democratica. [13]

Similarly, in Guatemala Arbenz exceeded the limits considered as acceptable by the landed elites and the foreign investors. So the U.S.-supported Armas led the reactionary forces that deposed Arbenz and put the conservatives back in power. A coup soon replaces a "slow learner." Whereas the rhetoric of an agitative party may be flamboyant and revolutionary, a vertical deviant newly integrated into the system must be conciliatory toward the power groups that have allowed his entry. A new member not properly supported by the right power groups will not long remain in control. Coercive force alone is not enough. Those who control the economic resources, those who have bureaucratic expertise, those who comprise the labor supply, etc., must be considered. Many apexes of power exist in Latin America. Anyone who enters the power elite circle must recognize this fact and make the proper adjustment.

Just as the system finds allowing the entry of new power contenders a relatively painless process, the ruling elites likewise find passing laws a comfortable means of co-opting agitative movements. Rhetorically, the establishment may then assuage the opposition with the idea that their demands have been met. In actuality, the ruling party may have no intention of enforcing the new law. This tradition dates from the adoption of the first democratic constitution in Latin America. The aristocracy enthusiastically endorsed constitutional constructs that had no relationship to the power structures of the society. Subsequently, the elites boasted of their constitutions but refused to abide by them. If the existence of a law on the books distrubs the conscience of the ruling group, passage of a new law is easy. Not unusual is the rewriting of the Constitution with each successive president. After the passage of such a new law or Constitution, some adaptation of the principles to the reality (or the "reform of the reform") may occur. [14]

Thus, adjustment by the establishment constitutes a frequent method of dealing with agitative movements. This method best characterizes the rhetoric of control in these countries.

Third, if an agitative movement succeeds in its effort to demonstrate a power capability and the agitator appears to be a lateral deviant, only two alternatives remain for the establishment. Avoidance is not possible; the system cannot ignore a group that has demonstrated a power potential. A lateral deviant, by definition, has the overthrowing of the establishment as his aim. This aim exempts the possibility of co-optation by the system. Two alternatives are left: suppression or capitulation.

Suppression will generally be the first attempt. For example, the establishment may force a political party underground by denying that party legal status. Examples of establishments that have used this practice are the Mexican, El Salvadoran, the Peruvian governments. Frequently, Communist agitators find their organizations outlawed. The establishment may exile the leaders of the agitative groups. Such was the fate of Juan Peron of Argentina and Juan Bosch in the Dominican Republic. The military may open fire to disperse a group of student demonstrators. The government may deny a petition. But if the power capability of the contender proves greater than that of the establishment, the system may be forced to capitulate. Castro and his guerrillas, for example, successfully challenged the suppressive forces of the Batista regime in 1959. These strategies then are ones that may be practiced by the control agents.

The rhetorical features of agitation and control in Latin American countries differ in certain regards from those that characterize the American society. Some possibilities are not within the range of alternatives presented to the agitators and control agents. Some strategies may be irrelevant and futile exercises within these cultures. Preferences for levels arranged in a different hierarchical structure may govern the processes of conflict resolution. The purpose of this paper has been to try to impart some understanding of the rhetorical climate in Latin America and to attempt to extract from the Bowers and Ochs model and the Anderson construct theory that might be helpful in analyzing rhetorical processes in those nations.

## FOOTNOTES

[1] *The Rhetoric of Agitation and Control* (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, Inc., 1971),pp. 1-56, pp. 136-42.

[2] The term "revolution" instead of "reform" is the product of popular reference to events in Latin America. Actually, Cuba, Mexico, and the Arbenz era in Guatemala give evidence of the only "real revolutions" that have occurred in Latin America.

[3] *Politics and Economic Change in Latin America: the Governing of Restless Nations* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1967), p. 90.

[4] "Political Power and Social Structures," in Claudio Veliz, ed., *The Politics of Conformity in Latin America.*

[5] p. 4.

[6] Ibid.

[7] This statement may appear an extreme generalization; yet examination of Latin American literature supports its validity. Albert O. Hirschman in *Latin American Issues*, ed. Albert O. Hirschman (New York: The Twentieth Century Fund, 1961), pp. 3-36, discusses Latin Americans' tendency to derogate their accomplishments as a major source of their troubles. Countries that offer exceptions to this generalization are Mexico and Brazil.

[8] Victor Alba, "The Latin American Style and the New Social Forces, in *Latin American Issues*, p. 47.

[9] Thomas E. Skidmore, "The Fall of Goulart: From Conspiracy to Revolt," in *Political Power in Latin America: Seven Confrontations*, ed. Richard R. Fagen and Wayne A. Cornelius, Jr. (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970), pp. 171-86.

[10] p. 90.

[11] Ibid, p. 102.

[12] Ibid., p. 104.

[13] Jorge Ahumada, "A Diagnosis of Venezuela's Problems," in *Political Power in Latin America: Seven Confrontations*, pp. 51-52.

[14] Alba, p. 48.

# PREDICTING INNOVATIVENESS IN THE ADOPTION OF A NON-TECHNOLOGICAL INNOVATION IN AFRICA

Carley H. Dodd

Research in intercultural communication should continually investigate those processes by which individuals adopt new ideas. In the last few years cross-cultural communication research has focused on variable relationships explaining adoption of new technology in developing nations. The purpose of the present research was to investigate correlates of innovativeness in the adoption of a non-technological innovation in Ghana, West Africa.

The term innovativeness refers to early or late adoption of an innovation. Research concerning innovativeness attempts to identify the variables that correlate with innovativeness by utilizing multiple correlation techniques. Usually, researchers report the results as the amount of variance (multiple $R^2$) the variables explain.

Prior research has highlighted the relationship of numerous variables to innovativeness. In their Colombian research, for instance, Rogers and Svenning explained 66.4 percent of the variance in the adoption of an agricultural innovation in traditional villages.[1] Results showed that magazine exposure was the strongest single factor in early or late adoption. Other predictor variables in their study included previous innovativeness of household innovations, farm size, reputation as a farmer, and personal empathy. When home innovations were studied in both modern and traditional villages, variables such as frequency of contact outside the village (cosmopoliteness), social status, self-perceived opinion leadership, functional literacy, and education accounted for 53 percent of the variance. Other prior studies of adoption in Colombia demonstrated the correlation of additional variables to innovativeness such as awareness of innovations, degree of information-seeking, attitude toward credit, and age.[2]

Research predicting innovativeness among farmers in India revealed the effects of attitudinal and world view variables such as authoritiarianism, innovation proneness, liberalism, and fatalism.[3] In addition, economic variables, change agent contact, and social participation have produced significant amounts of explained variance.[4]

The representative studies cited above provide an international backdrop for the present research effort which also focused on traditional and modern villages in a developing country. The difference is that the present research analyzed innovativeness in the individual adoption of a non-technological innovation, a religious ideology.

## Hypotheses

A central research question framed this study: What variables are significant correlates predicting adoption of a non-technological innovation in an African culture? The present study tested four social variables, four communication variables, and a social system variable using the following hypothesis:

*Hypothesis 1:* There is a significant correlation between the combined effect of all predictor variables and the one criterion variable, innovativeness.

*Hypothesis 2:* Social interaction is in a significant partial correlation with innovativeness.

*Hypothesis 3:* Cosmopoliteness is in a significant partial correlation with innovativeness.

*Hypothesis 4:* Degree of literacy is in a significant partial correlation with innovativeness.

*Hypothesis 5:* Newspaper exposure is in a significant partial correlation with innovativeness.

*Hypothesis 6:* Magazine exposure is in a significant partial correlation with innovativeness.

*Hypothesis 7:* Age is in a significant partial correlation with innovativeness.

*Hypothesis 8:* Education is in a significant partial correlation with innovativeness.

*Hypothesis 9:* Degree of opinion leadership is in a significant partial correlation with innovativeness.

*Hypothesis 10:* Village size is in a significant partial correlation with innovativeness.

## METHODOLOGY

### Sample

Field data were collected by use of interview questionnaires. 422 subjects were interviewed from a cluster sample based in thirty-four villages distributed into rural and urban areas and located in seven of Ghana's eight geographical districts.

### Criterion and Predictor Variables

The nine variables selected to explain and predict innovativeness were chosen because of (1) their utility in past research, and (2) probable function as to their predictive usefulness. The one criterion variable, the nine predictor variables, and their measurements are listed below:

1. *Innovativeness in adoption:* measured the year of acceptance into the Church of Christ.
2. *Social interaction:* "How many times a day do you talk with neighbors?"
3. *Cosmopoliteness:* "Within the last year have you travelled to Kumasi or Accra?" (the two largest cities).
4. *Newspaper exposure:* "How often do you read a newspaper?"
5. *Magazine exposure:* "How often do you read a magazine?"
6. *Literacy:* "Do you read?" and "What language(s) do you read?"
7. *Age of respondent:* Asked for respondent's age.
8. *Education of respondent:* Asked for respondent's years of formal education.
9. *Degree of opinion leadership:* (1) "Do most people ask you for your advice on farming?" (2) "Do most people ask you for your advice in settling disputes?" (3) "Do most people ask you for your advice in religious questions?" (4) "In general, do other people ask for your opinion?"
10. *Village size:* Village classified according to its population.

Date Analysis

Data analysis procedures for this study were two-fold. (1) The first hypothesis was tested by applying multiple correlation, a statistical tool designed to produce the maximum possible correlation between a criterion variable and a weighted sum of two or more predictor variables. (2) Partial correlations were utilized to test hypotheses 2–10. The partial correlation deals with the residual relationship between two variables when the common influence of the other variables has been removed.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Only three of the ten hypotheses were accepted based on statistical significance. Hypothesis 1 indicated a significant multiple correlation of all nine predictor variables with innovativeness ($R = .41$, $R^2 = 16.84\%$). However, three of the predictor variables (newspaper exposure, age, and village size) explained over 16 percent of the variance, while the other six predictor variables added only negligible amounts of explained variance (table 1). Acceptance of hypothesis 7 (table 2) indicated a partial correlation between age and innovativeness ($r1\ 7.\ 2\ 3\ 4\ 5\ 6\ 8\ 9\ 10 = .285 < .01$). Hypothesis 10 (table 2) revealed a partial correlation between village size and innovativeness ($r1\ 10.\ 2\ 3\ 4\ 5\ 6\ 7\ 8\ 9 = -.122 < .05$).

TABLE 1

COMPARISON OF TOP 3 PREDICTOR VARIABLES
EXPLAINING VARIANCE WITH THE LAST 6 PREDICTOR VARIABLES*

| Variable | Variance Explained | Variable | Variance Explained |
|---|---|---|---|
| Age | 13.16% | Opinion Leadership | .40% |
| Village Size | 1.57% | Education | .22% |
| Newspaper Exposure | 1.38% | Social Interaction | .08% |
| | | Magazine Exposure | .01% |
| | | Cosmopoliteness | .01% |
| | | Degree of Literacy | .01% |
| | $R^2$=16.11% | | $R^2$=.73% |

Total $R^2$=16.84%

*The percent figures depicted here represent *additional* common variance explained by including a particular variable.

TABLE 2

PARTIAL CORRELATIONS AND PEARSON r's OF THE NINE PREDICTOR VARIABLES WITH INNOVATIVENESS

| Variable | Partial Correlations | Simple Pearson r |
|---|---|---|
| Social Interaction | .024 | .021 |
| Cosmopoliteness | .010 | .010 |
| Degree of Literacy | .010 | .157** |
| Newspaper Exposure | .052 | .191** |
| Magazine Exposure | .020 | .171** |
| Age | -.285** | -.362** |
| Education | .036 | .150** |
| Opinion Leadership | -.075 | -.091 |
| Village Size | -.122* | -.148** |

N= 411
*p.< .05
**p.< .01

The relationships indicated by the confirmed hypotheses led to several generalizations. In the first place, the negative correlation between age and innovativeness should not be viewed in isolation since other factors emerge in coordination with this finding. Table 3 indicates that age is negatively correlated with degree of literacy (r = -.21), newspaper exposure (r = -.212), magazine exposure (r = .209), and education (r = -.232). Furthermore, the results demonstrated a positive correlation between age and opinion leadership (r = .105, p<.05). In sum, the results suggest the following. (1) The older the subject, the earlier he tended to adopt. (2) The older the subject, the less likely he read or was bilingual. (3) The older the subject, the less frequently he exposed himself to print media. (4) The older the subject, the less formal education he possessed. (5) The older the subject, the more likely his self-perception as an opinion leader.

TABLE 3

PEARSON CORRELATIONAL MATRIX OF VARIABLES STUDIED

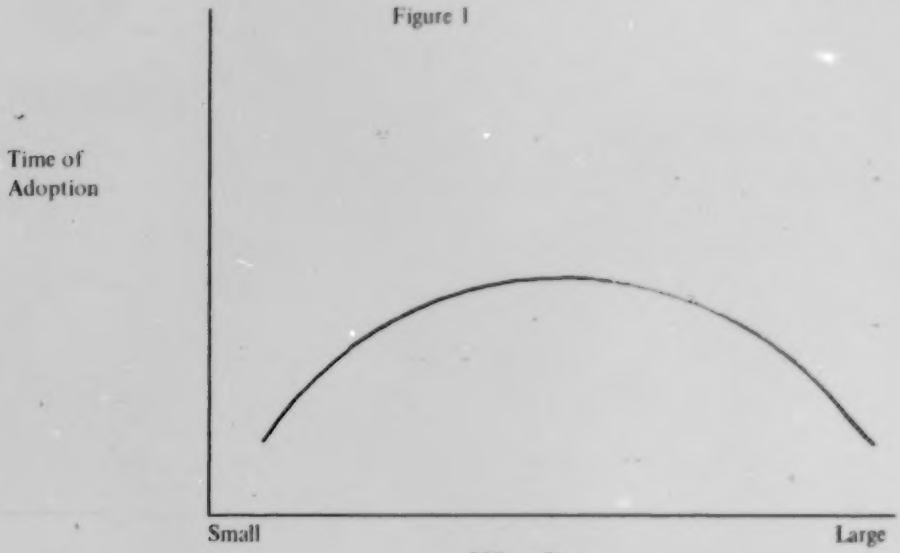
| | Social Interaction | Cosmopoliteness | Degree of Literacy | Newspaper Exposure | Magazine Exposure | Age | Education | Opinion Leadership | Village Size | Innovativeness |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Social Interaction | 1.000 | | | | | | | | | |
| Cosmopoliteness | .079 | 1.000 | | | | | | | | |
| Degree of Literacy | .074 | 017 | 1.000 | | | | | | | |
| Newspaper Exposure | .038 | .021 | .454* | 1.000 | | | | | | |
| Magazine Exposure | .032 | -.039 | .351** | .766** | 1.000 | | | | | |
| Age | .060 | .086 | -.210** | -.212** | -.209** | 1.000 | | | | |
| Education | .036 | -.014 | .581** | .484** | .409** | -.232** | 1.000 | | | |
| Opinion Leadership | .105* | .048 | .115* | .036 | .015 | .105* | .123* | 1.000 | | |
| Village Size | -.111* | -.217** | -.068 | .076 | .093 | .096 | .161** | -.029 | 1.000 | |
| Innovativeness | .021 | .009 | .157** | .191** | .171** | -.362** | .151** | -.091 | -.148** | 1.000 |

*p < .05
**p < .01
N = 411

Adoption obviously does not result from age itself as a physical dimension. Rather, evidence suggests that age places a person into a (1) category of relationships mitigated or abetted by traditional structure based on inherent respect and dependence. Observers have noted, for instance, that traditional Ghanain cultural values dictate personal respect by younger relatives and friends.[5] Previous research in interpersonal similarity (homophily) in Ghana revealed that older persons served as opinion leaders or information-evaluation sources in the diffusion of an innovation.[6] (2) With higher economic resources, older persons have mobility and thereby experience greater outside information contact.[7]

Secondly, the negative correlation between village size and innovativeness implied that subjects in large villages tended to adopt earlier than subjects in smaller villages. However, further analysis of this relationship indicated that the correlation is actually significantly non-linear (eta = .667).[8] By observation, the curve describing the relationship between village size and innovativeness appears to follow the quadratic equation $y = ax^2 + bx + c$. Thus, one notes that subjects living in villages of under 6,000 population (small) and subjects in large cities tended to adopt earlier than subjects in middle sized villages. The relationship can be illustrated as in figure 1.

Figure 1




The reason for the non-linear relationship is not immediately evident. One can speculate that the relationship is connected with the presence of abundant information sources in large cities and the presence of opinion leaders exposed to mass media channels as information sources in the small villages. Only further research however, can accurately reflect the reason for the non-linear correlation.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

From the analysis the researcher concluded two basic propositions. One is that age, village size and newspaper exposure significantly predict innovativeness. Second, age predicted

innovativeness such that as age increased, adoption was earlier. This finding adds theoretical relationship between age and innovativeness, since prior findings stem from technological innovations research. A third conclusion is that village size significantly predicts innovativeness. The non-linear relationship reveals that respondents in the smallest and in the largest villages tended to adopt earliest. Village size is a unique conceptual variable in diffusion literature.

Future research predicting innovativeness should consider numerous variables potentially related to innovativeness. General categories of variables could include interpersonal communication variables, mass media variables, economic variables, social variables, psychological variables, and systems variables. Another badly neglected category-consideration centers on cultural values and world view.

In addition, future research might focus on various methodologies. In the first place, field experimentation leads toward more precise cause-and-effect relationships, employing a before-after rather than an after-only research design. Typically, scientific methodology demands quantitative measures with which one might also combine other research techniques such as (1) participant observation, (2) panel studies, (3) in-depth probes using case studies of adopters, non-adopters, and/or other informants.

Finally, future research in this area should focus toward standardization of measurement instruments. Such an endeavor eventually build validity and reliability, thus promoting theory building.

## FOOTNOTES

[1]Everett M. Rogers and Lynne Svenning, *Modernization Among Peasants: The Impact of Communication* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston), 1969.

[2]Paul J. Deutschmann and Orlando Fals-Borda, *La Communicacion de las Ideas entre Los Campesinos Colombianos.* Bogota: Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Monografias Sociologicas 14. Cited in Everett M. Rogers and F. Floyd Shoemaker, *Communication of Innovations* (New York: Free Press), 1971; Eugene A. Havens, "Increasing the Effectiveness of Predicting Innovativeness," *Rural Sociology* 30 (1965), 151-165; Rogers and Svenning, 1969.

[3]S.N. Chattopadhyaya and Udai Pereek, "Prediction of Multi-Practice Adoption Behavior from some Psychological Variables," *Rural Sociology*, 32 (1967), 324-333.

[4]Y.N. Junghare, "Factors Influencing the Adoption of Farm Practices," *Indian Journal of Social Work*, 23 (1962), 291-296; T.K. Moulik, J.P. Hrabovsky, and C.S. Rao, "Predictive Values of Some Factors of Adoption of Nitrogenous Fertilizers by North Indian Farmers," *Rural Sociology*, 31 (1966), 467-477.

[5]Robert A. Lystrand, *The Ashanti: A Proud People* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press), 1958; Eva L.R. Meyerowitz, *The Akan of Ghana* (London: Faber and Faber), 1958.

[6]Carley H. Dodd, "Homophily and Heterophily in Diffusion of Innovations: a Cross-Cultural Analysis in an African Setting." A paper presented at the Speech Communication Association Convention, New York, November 10, 1973.

[7]The Twi word usage for a young man under 25 years of age is translated "small boy." Economic resources and school obligations limit mobility among young men, and to some extent may limit social integration.

[8]The curvilinear relationship is tested by first calculating eta, the correlation ratio for curvilinearity. The relationship is then tested for significant difference from the linear relationship by the formula $F = \frac{n^2 - r^2 / k\text{-}2}{1 - n^2 / N\text{-}k}$, where K = number arrays, and N = total cases. Eta for this data is .667, and F = 141, $p < .01$.

# CROSS-CULTURAL INTERFERENCES AFFECTING TEACHER-PUPIL COMMUNICATION IN AMERICAN SCHOOLS

E.C. Condon

The keystone of all successful teaching-learning situations is good communication, for the acquisition of knowledge is predicated upon an accurate exchange of information between the instructor and his students.

This factor is particularly crucial in classes where teacher and students are of different backgrounds, and where the learning process may be inhibited by cross-cultural interferences. Whenever such a situation occurs, communication conflicts are likely to arise, since the white middle-class adult interpretation of American culture held by the average educator, the values he teaches through the subject matter, and even the manner in which he communicates with the students do not always coincide with those held by the latter as a result of their family upbringing. The direct effect of such contacts between divergent orientations is found reflected in a reduction, if not a prevention, of learning gains. A case in point is that of the elderly Italian gentleman, enrolled in an Adult Education program, who walked out of class indignantly, because he thought he had been insulted by the instructor. The latter had simply modeled the pronunciation of the "th" sound (tip of tongue between teeth) without realizing that this facial expression could convey an obscene meaning in another country.

The full significance of such an occurrence becomes clear when it is viewed in the context of research findings on classroom communication. A recent study, carried out in this field at Stanford University, revealed that students failed to understand the information imparted by their teacher as a result of the following: insufficient or poorly organized data, unfamiliar language expressions, or different interpretations (on the part of the speaker and the listener) of the thought content of the message.[1] In all three cases, the problem may be attributed to possible differences in cultural conditioning. Kaplan has shown, for instance, that thought patterns are reflected in language style--thereby affecting the extent and organization of provided information.[2] And the style of communication considered appropriate in one group may seem "insufficient" or "poorly organized" in another. Examples of conflicts in stylistic variations may be noted in the Hispanic rejection of Anglo-Saxon directness and conciseness in oral and written expression and, conversely, the Anglo-Saxon criticism of the Spanish predilection for formality and ornateness in speech and in writing. These stylistic differences are particularly noticeable when bilingual individuals (who have not been made aware of them) communicate in the second language. In so doing, they utilize instinctively the style of expression which is natural to them--that associated with their native idiom--thereby succeeding in conveying unconsciously a negative message to the listener. Thus, the very economy of speech, so prized in American society where it "pays" to be "a man of few words," becomes highly suspicious in Spanish where communication is an art, and rhetoric reflects the personalism of the speaker as well as his ability to relate to others. As a result of these differences, interactions between Hispanic and American individuals are apt to be shortcircuited by undercurrents of misunderstandings arising from a mutual frustration of the former's desire to establish a relationship on personal terms, and the latter's urge to "get to the point" of the conversation.

Another type of cross-cultural communication breakdown noted in the study is triggered by variations in lexical meanings. In this respect, the connotative pitfalls embedded in false cognates are well-known to interpreters as one of the major difficulties to be overcome in interlingual translations. And most Spanish teachers today recognize the existence of polarized feelings associated with the concepts of "compromise" (positive in English) and "compromiso" (negative in Spanish) as they apply to business or diplomatic negotiations. However, interlingual interferences present at the denotative level, such as conceptual differences in words used by different cultural groups within the same geographical area, are all too often overlooked in everyday situations. This problem is illustrated in the diametrically opposed interpretations given by Black and White Anglo individuals to the modifier in the sentence "That's a *bad* dress you've got on!" In the former case, "bad" is synonymous to "wonderful" and the comment is a compliment paid to the wearer; and in the latter case, the adjective expresses a purely derogatory meaning--"A terrible dress"--and, therefore, serves as a criticism of the wearer's taste. The misunderstanding created by such incompatible viewpoints leads inevitably to a reinforcement of the negative stereotypes held by each group concerning the other.

The third area referred to in the Stanford report stresses the effect of differential interpretations of thought content of the message, as understood by the instructor and the students respectively. In this particular category, the opportunities for cross-cultural misunderstandings are practically limitless. They may be found in such common-place topics of discussion as the following:

| | |
|---|---|
| Food: | "Anglo" versus "soul" food, both of which are viewed differently by White and Black individuals |
| Health Practices: | The Hispanic reliance on "espiritistas," versus the Anglo faith in licensed practitioners |
| Family Life: | The Anglo "nuclear" family and its restricted obligations; versus the Chinese family and its complex, multiple relationships. |

And, of course, the probability of miscommunication increases in direct proporation to the degree of abstraction found in the concept under discussion.

The very insidiousness of the problem is precisely what makes it so difficult for an educator who has not been trained in skills of cultural awareness to handle in the course of daily instruction. Strange as it may seem to an observer who, unlike the teacher, is not emotionally absorbed in the task of sharing exciting knowledge with the students, the absurdity of describing to Indian children how Columbus "discovered" America may not be obvious to a history specialist who has not been sensitized to the "native American" viewpoint. Nevertheless, this same observer might be quite capable of demonstrating to puzzled Eskimo children how the sun always rises in the East and sets in the West . . . without realizing that they have seen with their own eyes how it travels in a circle at the North Pole! Indeed, one of the cardinal rules of effective cross-cultural communications is to take nothing for granted when attempting to encode or decode information, for even when the speakers share a common language there is no guarantee that the same cognitive or affective content is shared by both individuals.

In the American school context, few classes may be considered culturally homogeneous in terms of both staff and student populations. When these variations are added to other group or individual differences, such as age, sex, race, IQ, religion, motivation, socioeconomic background and the like, they represent a formidable source of interference in the educational process which may impede learning progress on the part of the students and frustrate the teacher's efforts to reach them.

With these prevailing conditions, each lesson taught may be viewed as a cultural encounter in which the communication process is inevitably restricted by factors which are beyond the control of the participants. Under the circumstances, it is essential that educators be able to identify and, hopefully, counteract classroom problems arising from cultural misunderstandings if they are to succeed in maximizing their instructional effectiveness.

Factors to Be Considered in Cross-Cultural Communication

In a general way, the exchange of information between two interlocutors is usually achieved by verbal and nonverbal means; the process takes place simultaneously on three culturally conditioned levels, related to the cognitive, affective, and psychomotor domains of human behavior--thought, emotion and action, expressed by words, voice modulation, facial signals, and gestures. Cross-cultural misunderstandings may, therefore, be expected to arise unconsciously from the verbal or conceptual content of the message, as well as from its emotional substance or its physical expression. Practically speaking, then, miscommunication between members of different communities may be triggered by any single factor, such as a "wrong" word, look, phrase, gesture, tone of voice, timing, or idea, or any combination thereof. Furthermore, the conflict potential generated by these elements in any intergroup conversation is actually much greater than it may seem on the surface, for it is considerably intensified by the dictates of culturally conditioned norms and habits, buried deeply in each individual, which control to a large extent the range of actions, thoughts and emotions acceptable in his society and, therefore, set the standards by which he judges (and often misjudges) the behavior of other people. Accordingly, the "real" causes of cross-cultural interferences in face-to-face interaction may be said to originate in the unconscious and to operate at the level of thoughts, attitudes, values and feelings, far beyond the external manifestations of cultural differences noted by superficial observers (such as "foreign" expressions, customs, food, clothing, and the like). Unfortunately, these hidden factors tend to be overlooked in communication whenever it is carried out by members of different groups who share the same language. This is particularly true in an instructional situation where, as we have seen earlier, the complexity of teacher-pupil-subject matter interactions requires an instructor's full attention, and the skills of cross-cultural understanding are seldom available to the participants. The quality of human relations and learning progress achieved under these circumstances is, of course, often disastrous.

In order to illustrate this point, several examples of communication breakdowns traceable to cultural differences are described in the next section. They are derived from actual classroom experiences observed by Intercultural Relations and Ethnic Studies (IRES) Institute staff members over a period of years. They are organized into four major categories: (1) Use of Language (vocabulary and grammatical structure); (2) Language Auxiliaries (paralinguistic and kinesic signals); (3) Norms of Classroom Interaction (modes of address, learning style and classroom roles); (4) General Context of Human Interaction (time and space).

## USE OF LANGUAGE

a. Vocabulary

Terms (and the concept they represent) which are commonly used by children of one cultural community may be unknown to those of another. This is the case for all American expressions associated with the "well-known" northern weather phenomenon of *snow*, such as snow-suit or snow-shoes, snow-man, snow-tires, and the like. Yet, many an elementary teacher insists upon sharing this vocabulary item (and its meaningless pictorial representation) with first-graders who have recently arrived from a tropical country. They do so automatically, simply because the word "snowsuit" is included in the reader, without even realizing that the pupils have no concept of cold weather or the need for special protection against it.

Interpretation:

–Weather conditions vary from one country to another; they determine the general way in which basic human needs (such as clothing) are met.

–Clothing has a pragmatic function--to protect man from the elements. The relationship between clothing and local geographical phenomena may not be as obvious to a foreign individual as it is to the native person.

–A communication breakdown occurs because the teacher assumes that the pupils *share* her "snow" experience, and the latter are too young and inexperienced to ask questions.

b. Grammatical Structure

Anyone who has taught English as a Second Language to Spanish-speaking adults may have wondered at their avoidance of the simple grammatical structure *"I'm* a machinist (hairdresser, factory worker, etc.)" in favor of the more complex sentence *"I work* in a machine shop (beauty salon, factory, etc.)." The reason for this preference is rooted in the strong Hispanic sense of identity, which tends to separate a man's occupation from his intrinsic nature as a human "being."

Interpretation:

–In American culture, a man is what he "makes of himself." He earns the respect of others by his achievements. Thus, to some extent, he is what his work is.

–In Hispanic culture, a man has dignity because he "is" a man. He is entitled to the respect of others, simply by virtue of his membership in the human race. His occupation is only one aspect of his personality, a fraction of his total "being."

–A communication breakdown occurs over the respective, and differing values accorded by each society to the concepts of humanity and work, as they are reflected in the choice of verb. Unconsciously, the Spanish adult hesitates to make a statement which does not express his inner feeling, since it requires him to equate work with himself.

## LANGUAGE AUXILIARIES

a. Paralinguistic Cues

Educators who work in "disadvantaged" urban areas sometimes fall into the habit of enunciating over-carefully, or slowing down their speech delivery when they address certain pupils, to make sure that their directives are understood. In so doing, they not only provide the class with an artificial model of standard English, but they also convey unconsciously a message of contempt to the listener. This well-intended mode of communication produces inadvertently the same negative effect upon the learner that may be achieved deliberately by the opposite means--speeding up speech delivery and telescoping words together--to convince him of his inadequacy.

Interpretation:

–Auditory signals of communication exist in all societies. They serve to convey, emphasize, or counteract the meaning of a verbal message.

–They are noted and decoded at a level of secondary consciousness--the primary level being that of linguistic understanding.

–A communication breakdown occurs because the teacher equates his action with "helping," and the student with "down-talking"--a verbal strategy used to confer a sense of inferiority upon the listener.

b. Kinesic Signals

The interpretation of a simple (or so it seems!) facial gesture is fraught with cross-cultural pitfalls. It is used by members of different groups to indicate widely divergent states of mind, and to serve different functions in the communication process. Under normal circumstances, a widening of the eyes may be said to hold a world of meaning in a multicultural context:

| Significance | Intention | Culture |
|---|---|---|
| Really! | Surprise, wonder | Dominant Anglo Group |
| I resent this. | Anger | Chinese |
| I don't believe you. | Challenge | French |
| I don't understand | Call for help | Hispanic |
| I'm innocent. | Persuasion | Black American Group |

More often than not, the culturally unaware American teacher overlooks a Spanish child's signal of distress–eye widening-- because he does not recognize it as such, or interprets a Black child's mute plea of innocence as a display of insolence.

Interpretation:

–Visual signals are used widely in all cultures to replace, underline, or contradict the meaning conveyed by words.

–As language auxiliaries, they are included automatically, but not really consciously, in the decoding process.

–A communication breakdown occurs because the teacher and the student assign different meanings to the kinesic cue, neither is aware of the other's interpretation, and both translate the other's behavior in negative terms.

## NORMS OF CLASSROOM INTERACTION

a. Modes of Address

Proper names are often treated in cavalier fashion by teachers and students alike in the classroom. Many an American high-school boy has been turned off in a French or Spanish class by being forced to answer to a "foreignized" version of his name. This practice, cherished by many a language instructor as a means of creating Nelson Brooks' "cultural Island," practically guarantees instead the onset of first-rate cases of *anomie* among insecure teenage learners.

Interpretation:

–A given name is part and parcel of the individual who bears it. He is usually reluctant to relinquish it without an overwhelming reason.

–The use of a special name in a French or Spanish class tends to intensify the feeling of alienation experienced by a youngster in a situation where normal means of communication (English) are inhibited, if not denied to him.

–A communication breakdown occurs because the teacher views his action as educationally sound, while the student sees it as a threat to his inner being.

In adult classes, a problem situation may also arise from the misuse of a person's own name. Imagine, for instance, the reaction of a dignified Chinese gentleman who finds himself embarrassingly addressed by a young lady teacher in a rather familiar manner as "Mr. Jing-Jyi" (his given name), rather than "Mr. Wu" (His family name), because he failed to westernize their sequencing at registration.

Name Protocols

| | |
|---|---|
| American-style: | Jing-Jyi Wu |
| Chinese-style: | Wu Jing-Jyi |

Worse still, think of the particularly subtle insult conveyed by elderly Miss Smith to the respectable Señor Juan Lopez-Sueiro, each time she calls him Mr. Sueiro in front of the class, thus literally branding him with a label of illegitimacy, because she does not understand the Spanish system of dual family names!

Name Protocols

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| American-style: | John (given name) | Lopez (family name) | | |
| Spanish-style: | Juan (given name) | Lopez (father's name) | — | Sueiro (mother's name) |

Interpretation:

–Personal names are invested with a great deal of emotional content, derived from their association with family life.

–When a situation is in doubt, cultural conditioning leads a person to fall back on familiar rules to handle the problem. Thus, an American will invariably assume that the last item in a foreign title is the person's family name.

–A communication breakdown occurs because of the informal orientation of American people toward modes of address, which restricts their senstivity to the far-reaching implications of naming procedures used in other countries. This casualness is often interpreted by the foreign student as an indication that the teacher is not really interested in him.

b. Learning Styles

Knowledge may be acquired in many ways. In this country, children are taught to learn by "doing" under the indulgent supervision of adults, a practice illustrated in the old saw: "If at first you don't succeed, try and try again," and in the educational expression: "the discovery (or problem-solving) method." However, this system does not apply to most American Indian boys and girls, who, instead, are expected to learn by watching and listening to their elders, then by practicing the activity secretly before exposing themselves to adult criticism.

As a result of these differences, non-Indian teachers who work in Reservation schools are dismayed by the futility of their efforts to involve their charges in full-scale activity participation.

Interpretation:

–Learning styles are culturally conditioned practically from birth.

–American parents encourage habits of active learning in their children, by providing them with a stimulating environment (mobiles above the cradle, for instance). Indian parents, on the other hand, inculcate habits of patience and latency in their offspring.

–A communication breakdown occurs as the outcome of conflicting teaching and learning styles, when activistic demands (the teacher's) are made upon a passive-oriented learner who is unable to respond in an appropriate manner.

These contrastive actions are indicative of widely divergent attitudes toward life: the Indian disposition to blend with the surrounding reality, and the American tendency to conquer the environment. Either way is unacceptable to the other person.

c. Classroom Roles

Spanish teachers are apt to consider American pupils unruly and ill-mannered because they do not sit still and they ask too many questions. American educators, on the other hand, are perplexed by the shifting atmosphere of Hispanic classes, where the students will at one moment sit in an eerie cloud of quiet intensity, eyes riveted upon the teacher, and in the next chatter excitedly among themselves.

The problem originates in the varying definitions of "good pupil" behavior accepted in the two cultures. When Spanish parents admonish their child to "behave himself" in class, they expect him to sit quietly at his desk, to pay strict attention to the teacher and not to bother him with questions. The child tries very hard to obey (periods of quiet behavior), but the tension of a sustained attentive behavior is such that he sometimes forgets himself ("talking" periods). An American mother, on the other hand, tells her son to "be a good boy," while fully anticipating him to throw himself wholeheartedly into class activities and discussions--which he does, sometimes with excessive exhuberance.

Interpretation:

–Within a given society, interaction between individuals is facilitated by commonly held assumptions and role expectations.

–People are seldom aware that their behavior is governed by such culturally conditioned assumptions.

–A communication breakdown occurs when interacting individuals are suddenly confronted with external behavior contradictory to expectation. Indeed, what is considered proper in one society may not be so in another. Accordingly, an American child must "be good," but a French child should "be wise," a Scandinavian child "be kind," and a German child "be in line," if they are to follow the dictates of their own culture.

From a cross-cultural standpoint, the normal expectations of other groups are usually considered unreasonable as well as unnatural, even though they are not so in their proper context.

## CONTEXT OF HUMAN INTERACTION

a. Time

English as a Second Language teachers sometimes experience a great deal of difficulty in teaching some students how to use the future tense. What they fail to realize is that in many cultures, the notion of what has not yet taken place has little reality, and falls into the category of "no-time," rather than that of "time to come."

In accordance with this view, a ghetto dweller or a Navajo Indian will evince no interest in discussing an event scheduled for the following week. But, an Egyptian Muslim may react violently to the audacity of human beings speculating over something known only to God–the future!

Interpretation:

–Time exists as a cultural, as well as physical dimension which affects the tenor of human relations.

–Middle-class Americans are obsessed with the elusive quality of time. Consequently, they attempt to control its passage with innumerable schedules. In so doing, they translate their action-orientation into a drive towards the future. In reactive-oriented societies, where man refuses to anticipate the unknown, the present and the past are all important.

–A communication breakdown occurs in consequence of conflicting cultural values, communicated through the language. The teacher stresses a verb form which expresses an important concept in American society--the future--a segment of the time continuum which is de-emphasized (and sometimes not even expressed) in other cultures.

Another time-related problem often overlooked in class is that of testing. The average American teacher is so conditioned to a time-stressed existence, that he fails to recognize the presence of other time attitudes among his students. Thus, in a teaching situation, leisurely oriented students (Spanish speakers, for instance) perform inevitably at a disadvantage. Their scores reflect their inability to utilize every moment in a productive manner (that is to say in answering the questions speedily).

Interpretation:

–Different societies assign different values to the dimension of time.

–American culture functions on a time-stressed scale. Witness, the proliferation of schedules, deadlines, time-payments, and the like. Hispanic culture, on the other hand, values time only inasmuch as it relates to human interaction.

–A communication breakdown occurs when the student approaches the test in leisurely fashion (as an activity devoid of human relation potential), and the teacher interprets this action as a deliberate resistance to instruction or as sign of mental inadequacy.

b. Space

Spanish or French teachers are often surprised by the American student's predilection for sitting in the back, rather than the front of the room. And, conversely, many an American teacher has been repelled by the "crowding" habits of his Hispanic and French students. At the adult education level, the latter's behavior has occasionally been interpreted by women teachers as a mild form of sexual aggression.

Interpretation:

–Like time, space is subject to different cultural interpretations.

–American space may be characterized as diffuse and dynamic. As noted in western songs, people in this country, "like the wide, open spaces" and resent being "fenced in."

–A communication breakdown occurs when the private space bubbles of interacting individuals fail to coincide, as is the case for Spanish and American people. The former lean toward proximity in communication, which enables them to underline their messages in tactile manner. The latter, however, feel uncomfortable in close distance to others. From a cross-cultural standpoint, American behavior is unconsciously interpreted as "distant," and Hispanic action as "pushy," thereby creating a negative climate for interaction and learning.

Conclusion

From the above examples one may conclude that the parameters of intercultural relations, as they apply to the classroom context, have been mostly neglected so far in the professional preparation of educators. These factors need to be redefined and studied in depth, if the educational system in the United States is to fulfill its responsibility to provide an equal learning opportunity to all of the nation's children.

In a multi-cultural community such as American society, total communication, on which successful learning is predicated, cannot be achieved in school unless teachers understand the educational implications of cultural interferences, and they learn to counteract them as skillfully as they handle other classroom difficulties.

In order to achieve this goal, they must remember to consider the problem of cognition from a dual viewpoint--theirs, and that of each learner, as it is expressed in daily interaction. In a way, classroom communication may be likened to the dialogue which occurs between the bird and the duck in Prokofiev's story "Peter and the Wolf" . . .

> The bird asked: "What kind of a bird are you, if you can't fly?"
> And the duck replied: "What kind of a bird are you, if you can't swim?"

Like the bird and the duck, instructors and their students possess a common denominator--membership in a certain species--but their shared humanity does not prevent them from viewing the world in different manners. Thus, the secret of effective cross-cultural communication in a classroom lies in the teacher's ability to dichotomize his ways of thinking, feeling and behaving. In short, he must become a man, or woman, for all seasons . . .whether they be educational, or cultural.

## FOOTNOTES

[1]David R. Olson, *et al. Teacher-Student Communication Games,* Research and Development Memorandum No. 94; Stanford University, September, 1972.

[2]Robert Kaplan, "Cultural Thought Patterns in Intercultural Education," *Language Learning,* 1967, Vol. XVI, Nos. 1 and 2.

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# SATELLITE TELEVISION: PROMISE OR THREAT TO THE THIRD WORLD?

**Stewart Ferguson**

A concern for the effects of satellite television has been growing steadily since this mode of communication became possible with the launching of Sputnik I. Technical communication advances in the areas of satellite telecommunications systems, laser tubes, and wave guides in recent years have prompted a focusing of world attention on the subject. The most publicity has been given to these technological advances in terms of their projected contribution to world peace and understanding and the advancement of the Third World through literacy and educational programs. Optimists such as McLuhan, Asimov, and Clark see the technology offering universal access to the good life. The pessimists, who view the issues in a sociological context, foresee new levels of information access generating mass discontent, with universal rising frustration growing out of the rising expectation. Particularly do the spokesmen for the Third World espouse this point of view. The debates over issues such as the direct broadcast satellite, the free flow of information between nations, national sovereignty, and cultural imperialism reveal the intensity with which the advocates of the two camps hold their respective points of view.

A report by ERIC summarized the optimistic and pessimistic viewpoints regarding the potential of the new communications technology for the developing world:

> Some people believe that the development of new and effective systems for education, making use of satellites and related technology, could result in substantial improvements in the educational capability of nations as well as better methods of international cooperation . . . Others feel that the rapid spread of new communications technology could result in the squandering of precious foreign exchange by less-developed countries, social upheaval, and the extension of centralized political control by repressive governments.[1]

With the same basic information, these persons have come to very different conclusions. These conclusions are the result of varying experiences and different interpretations of a critical proposition. That proposition is that communication generates social and political change. Whereas the optimists represent the point of view of countries that experienced industrial and scientific revolutions growing out of the societies' enhanced capacities to communicate, the pessimists have a different referential framework. As Sulwyn Lewis noted, during the second World War, millions of young men in Africa and Asia left their villages to fight on distant battlegrounds. Foreign troops entered their lands, leaving behind new and disturbing ideas. At the same time, greater numbers of newspapers and more than 400 million wireless sets in the world brought new information about foreign cultures to the people of the Third World, and the cinema provided "peep-holes" into alien ways of life.[2] The results were not always positive ones.

Like the optimists, those with more serious reservations see new information as a catalyst for social change. However, anthropological and sociological perspectives have led proponents of the more pessimistic view to the conclusion that the direction of change cannot be known in advance. Where the agent for change is information that must cross cultural boundaries, the risks grow even higher. The compression of time involved in the changes and the lack of

sequential progression that marked the development of the more industrialized societies will create additional problems. The possibility for undermining of values and societal structures becomes a real concern.

In the literature of anthropology can be found instances where whole cultures have been destroyed as a consequence of the introduction of new information by alien and technically advanced people. Notable examples involve digging stick and stone axe cultures. In the case of the Yir Yoront, an aboriginal stone axe culture the introduction of steel axes undermined the entire belief and value structure of the society. Apart from stone and bone scrapers and arrowheads, the stone axe had been the only hand tool of the culture. The axe was the mark of authority and manhood. On the completion of extremely arduous manhood initiation rites, young men earned their first axe. With the introduction of steel hand axes, costing a dollar or two, a sum that could be earned in a brief work period, the prospect of a stone axe as a reward for extremely painful mutilation of the body seemed to be a poor bargain. The elder with his stone axe became a figure of fun. Lauriston Sharp observed: "The most disturbing effects of the steel axe, operating in conjunction with other elements also being introduced from the white man's subcultures, developed in the realm of traditional ideas, sentiments, and values. These were undermined at a rapidly mounting rate, without new conceptions being defined to replace them. The result was a mental and moral void which foreshadowed the collapse and destruction of all Yir Yoront culture, if not, indeed, the extinction of the biological group itself."[3]

Those who hold skeptical views regarding the promise of satellite television cite similar cases among North American Indian tribes and among cultures from ancient to modern times.[4]

Numerous theories have been put forward to explain the processes involved in such cultural breakdown. According to the proponents of the "stress" theory, a society that meets with particular difficulties that cannot be resolved within the existing framework of the social institutions will be affected by stress, frustration, and anomy.[5] Barber spoke of "deprivation" as hopelessness and despair, resulting from contact with a superior foreign culture.[6] David Aberle's theory of "relative deprivation" expresses the view that man's wants are potentially limitless. Relative deprivation refers to psychic needs, rather than physical needs. A people experience a lack felt in comparison with something else – the past, the future, or other people.[7] "Deculturation" theorists handle this same phenomenon. "Deculturation" designates a process whereby people, through contact with Western civilization, lose elements of their traditional culture without gaining new elements to fill the gap. In this essentially destructive form of cultural change, the indigenous culture neither borrows from the alien culture nor invents alternatives of its own. The consequence is cultural loss and impoverishment.[8]

Observers of the poverty, the sickness, and the unemployment on Indian reserves have seen in such manifestations evidences of "deculturation."[9] In 1837 Anna Jameson visited the Ottawas residing on Manitoulin. Following her visit she recorded her impressions of the Indians and what she perceived to be the impact of the European civilization upon these tribes. Her impressions could well belong among the notes of a 20th century anthropologist or political scientist looking at Third World cultures. The rising wants and rising frustrations on which she comments are the same ones that Daniel Lerner noted:

> It seems to me a question whether the Europeans who, Heaven knows, have much to answer for in their intercourse with these people, have not, in some degree, injured the cause of the Indian woman: first, by corrupting them; secondly, by checking the improvement of all their own peculiar manufactures.
>
> It is reasonable to presume that as these manufactures must have been progressively improved, there might have been further progression, had we not substituted for articles they could procure or fabricate, those which we fabricate; we have taken the work out of their hands, and all motive to work, while we have created wants which they cannot supply. We have clothed them in blankets – we have not taught them to weave blankets. We have substituted guns for the bow and arrows; but they cannot make guns; for the natural progress of arts and civilization springing from within, and from their own intelligence and resources, we have substituted a sort of civilization from without, foreign to their habits, manners, organization: we are making paupers out of them; and this by a kind of terrible necessity.[10]

Most advocates of the "stress," "deprivation," and "deculturation" theories would maintain that revitalistic movements represent last-ditch responses to salvage disintegrating cultures and to counter the anomy generated by exposure to cultures possessing what is perceived as much greater "power":

> Every messianic movement known to history has arisen in a society that has been subjected to the severe stress of contact with an alien culture – involving military defeat, epidemic, and acculturation. The bewildered search for ways to counteract the threat may actually increase the stress, arousing anxiety over whether new solutions will be any better than the old. Once doubts arise about any aspect of the ancestral cultural system, there is yet increased stress due to fear that the entire cultural system may prove inadequate. At this point, the culture as a whole begins to break down, manifested by widespread alcoholism, apathy, disregard of kinship obligations and marriage rules, and intragroup violence. Such behavior comes at the very time when the culture is least able to cope with it, and so the intensity of the stress increases still more. Ultimately, the inadequacy of the culture becomes apparent even to the most conservative of its members, and the culture may deteriorate to such an extent that it literally dies. The birth rate drops and the death rate rises; the society no longer possesses the will to resist, and it is fallen upon by predatory neighbors; the few survivors scatter and either gradually die out or are absorbed by other groups. The collapse may be forestalled or even averted if a revitalization or messianic movement arises that is acceptable to the culture. Such a movement depends upon the appearance of a particular personality at a certain precise time in the disintegration of the culture.[11]

Such messianic and millenarian movements attempt to preserve the social and political viability of the societies. Worsley observed that such movements have occurred again and again throughout history because they make such a strong appeal to the "oppressed, the disinherited and the wretched": "Right through the Pseudo-Sibylline Prophecies, the belief in the 'Emperor of the Last Days', the People's Crusades, the Flagellant movement, up to the more familiar English Peasant Rising of 1381, to the Taborites of Bohemia, Thomas Munzer and the Reign of the Saints in Munster, there runs a thread of radical millenarian tradition

transmitted from generation to generation."[12] Among the Melanesian Islands, cargo cult behavior exemplifies this adjustment to "culture shock."[13]

If new information shatters existing beliefs and offers a promise of a better life style, then those who are considered to have special knowledge of the new information acquire authority. When the gap between the new base of information and the old is large, then the political power is acquired by those who act as liaisons. These persons frequently claim prophetic insight endowed by some communion with the supernatural. Frequently they have had close contact with the alien cultures. The new information may make the existing values seem ridiculous; but if the society is to be used as a political base, it must remain intact. For this reason, political power is exercised by those who offer explanation of the new phenomena in terms of the old perceptual framework.

Frequently these prophets operate through the medium of old superstitious practices, using the debris of the new culture as ritualistic objects. Old electric light bulbs, cereal boxes, etc., are used in sympathetic magic rituals, in order to make contact with the god whom they associate as being the alien culture's supply source. Bamboo aircraft and radio masts may be built to attract the desired cargo, in the manner of decoy ducks.

Judy Inglis discussed the evidences of political opportunism in such cult movements: "Even if a cult is not deliberately devised as an instrument of personal ambition, it may well appear to take on that character, either because the leader happens to derive some benefit from his position, or because he is quickly surrounded by 'experts' or 'disciples' who may themselves include opportunists."[14]

The history of responses such as these to extracultural information introduced into societies contributes to the reservations held by those who fall into the pessimist camp on the satellite television issues.

In some important regards, the pessimistic approach to the issues raised by satellite television is based on a more realistic assessment of the situation. The optimistic approach is largely based on a projection of an enhanced technical capacity to carry out programs of social improvement, which are assumed to be universally regarded as desirable. On the other hand, the pessimists assume that what will happen in the future, in large measure, will be similar to what has happened in the past. They see development policy being formed around very pragmatic criteria. Although the policy may be framed and sold in the rhetoric of social welfare, it is constructed on the basis of economic expediency. The pessimist would say that compulsory free education did not come about because someone thought it would be nice if the peasants could read Milton, but rather because a literate numerate work force was needed to exploit the promise of mechanization and to bring about the industrial revolution.

In trying to anticipate future trends in satellite communication development, the area of public policy may yield insights of the highest predictive value. As previously observed, the major innovationary implication in satellite communication is the promised capacity to make direct television contact with areas of the world where no modern communication systems exist. The technical developments are moving towards the possibility of receiving communication via satellites direct into a domestic television receiver. However, the present utilization and legislation have been directed towards the supplementation of existing carrier systems. The fastest economic returns are to be gained by using communication technology

to upgrade existing systems in developed societies. The strongest political lobbies are maintained by the industrial monopolistic corporations who control existing communication carrier systems. Clearly, these groups have overriding interests in protecting their present investments, so that the major emphasis is on improving these carrier systems rather than in making them redundant by direct satellite person-to-person linkages. The situation is further aggravated because the major communication organizations, by virtue of their technical expertise, are called in to act as consultants on policy. This has been said to be akin to setting Dracula to guard the blood bank. The criteria upon which present communication policy is made are not in the realm of the speculative. The trends are already established.

Over the past ten years the literature has reflected the concern expressed for the undue influence brought to bear on the nature of policy by communication giants such as Bell and A.T.&T. Robert Lindsay in *Earth Satellite Communication: Issues and Portents* dealt with this problem as early as 1965.[15] Orville Harold Schmidt in *Space Age Regulation: An Examination of Certain Regulatory Problems Arising Out of the Communications Satellite Act of 1962* likewise discussed the difficulties in regulating satellite communication. Schmidt pointed to the far-reaching effects of a policy that can start courses of action which are almost impossible to check or reverse.[16] Ben Bagdikian also has dealt at some length with the long range effects of policy. Bagdikian attributes the large and inconvenient size of modern newspapers to a 1711 tax placed on the number of pages, a tax long since forgotten but still influencing the newspaper industry.[17]

It is very difficult to get an objective view of the policy process. The theory of policy formation naturally has been built around observation of past policy and its effects. In common with many areas of the social scientist's concern, the difficulty arises because of a lack of comparison with some control situation. Once the policy has been established, a process that involves large investments, the policy must be pursued in order to capitalize on the investment. Once set in motion, policy assumes a life of its own.

When subjected to such pragmatic analysis, issues which seem to be major concerns, judging by the amount of discussion which they generate, diminish or even disappear. The direct broadcast satellite issue well exemplifies this point. Besides being contrary to the interests of the communication megapolis, the promotion of D.B.S. television broadcasting is an economic non-starter:

> There seems to be agreement that the timing for the establishment of such systems will depend on non-technical factors such as economic considerations and purposes of use. As for direct satellite broadcasting into unaugmented, existing receivers, some experts have advanced the view that it might never become a reality at all, not for technical or even political reasons, but because a more cost efficient solution will be found. In many industrialized countries, already possessing television networks, the pressure is often not for more nation-wide dissemination but for more local outlets. In developing areas, the cost of providing a television receiver for each individual home will be so high that community-type reception will be the most economic solution for some time to come.[18]

Political considerations may be secondary to economic ones, but these considerations certainly add to the unattractiveness of the prospect of D.B.S. television broadcasting.

Political elites in Third World countries are no less aware of the connection between control of information flow and political control than are any other political elites. Any system that promises to bypass existing information flow systems becomes a political threat. The attitude of the South African government to the introduction of television into South Africa graphically illustrates the reaction of one government to this perceived threat of loss of control. In spite of being one of the wealthiest states in Africa, South Africa ranks among the last to acquire any kind of television service. For more than five years, attempts were made to design separate television systems for the black and white populations, in such a way that the blacks had no access to the white television system. Similar to the proposed "black" and "white" systems for South Africa was a bill introduced in the Louisiana legislature in 1956 to make a felony of the transmission and receiving of television pictures showing blacks and whites interacting sympathetically.[19] The attempt was abandoned as technically unfeasible, but the fact that such a bill was even proposed demonstrates a strong reaction to the political potential in the new television medium.

Ben Bagdikian has suggested that both formal and informal segregation practices in the southern states of America were manifestations of this acute awareness of the disruptive influence of uncontrolled information. The rapid acceleration of the Civil Rights movement in the 1950's has been connected to the influence of network news. Bagdikian, referring to this phenomenon as the "Huntley-Brinkley" syndrome, noted:

> The rebellion of American blacks against the racial caste system, though rooted in deep social and economic trends, was profoundly influenced by a novel medium of communication whose newness was important in its impact. The mobilization of the Negro's rejection of their three-hundred-year status, and the comprehension of this by the white majority, is attributable in significant part to the failure of traditional social controls over new media that used to be typical of the American South.[20]

He goes on to say that the effect of television was to *accelerate* social change. This proposition strikes at the core of the change-through-information process. The change is not necessarily *caused* by the new information. All the factors determining direction of change already may exist. The new level of information exchange may accelerate an inevitable change process. It is the *rate* of change, rather than the *direction* of change which determines whether or not the process will be a turbulent one.

Bagdikian also describes the large array of uncontrollable information in pictorial communication: "Different viewers focus on different signals. What seems marginal to some may be central to others, producing different impressions from the same scene. What looks 'bad' to some people will look 'good' to others. A television news item of a United Nations proceeding might include five seconds of an African diplomat speaking in French, a brief episode that might be casual to most whites but astonishing to rural Negroes and whites who have never before seen a culturally sophistocated black speaking to multi-racial dignitaries."[21] For these reasons, the political considerations, like the economic ones, will favor secondary distribution systems over direct satellite broadcasting systems. The issue of direct satellite broadcasting becomes a non-issue.

Another major issue which will be attenuated by economic, political, and pragmatic pressures relates to what has come to be known as "cultural imperialiam." In order to gain

some perspective on the cultural imperialism debate, it is necessary to remember that satellite television, in the first place, *is* a matter of economics. In order to mount a global satellite communication system, a very high economic investment becomes necessary. Only a limited number of countries can afford such an investment. For example, India is now developing a national satellite educational television program. India does fall into the category of a Third World country, according to the original political definition of "Third World." However, the country is very different economically and culturally from countries such as Upper Volta and Sierra Leone. Without considerable modification to the existing political and economic structure, a country of low economic resources and many language groups could not use the Indian approach as a model. Small countries cannot finance their own satellite programs. The larger industrial countries do not want to assume the astronomical costs of mounting multi-lingual programs. Programs in English or in some other foreign language become the only viable economic alternative. At this point, cultural integrity drops out of the argument.

Cultural imperialism is no new concept; yet a fear for its effects did not prevent the proliferation of foreign films and foreign television all over the world. If past experience serves as an indicator of likely trends in the future, whatever form of satellite television may be available will be used by most countries.

The optimist's hope for the universal move towards the good life does not seem to have a chance of being fulfilled. Economic and political interests will take precedence over humanitarian considerations, so that the new technology may accentuate the economic differences between nations. Economically depressed countries are depressed precisely because they do not have the organizational or economic resources to mount the intensive supporting social programs which are necessary to ensure the success of educational television projects. In many regards, if these countries had the capacity to ensure the success of the development programs, they would not need the programs.

The utilization of television for large-scale educational programs in the most economically and technically advanced societies has usually fallen very far short of the anticipated goals. The results have been disappointing because of a lack of understanding of the level of support which such projects require from the entire social institutional structure.

Unfortunately, the pessimist's predictions are based on a better understanding of the social, political, and economic factors involved. The chances are very high that deculturation will occur, and this deculturation will be the price paid for what is perceived as progress. For the optimistic, humanitarian promise to be fulfilled, major changes would have to take place in the nature of man. Such changes are the concerns of philosophy and religion and, however desirable, do not offer a sound basis on which to make predictions.

This is not to say that the humanitarian concerns are not important. The state of man is improved only through the constant striving towards higher ethical standards. However, the rate of such change is slow and to expect change to occur as a consequence of its being desirable is unrealistic. In the final analysis, such an attitude could be self-defeating.

## FOOTNOTES

[1]Robert P. Morgan and Jai P. Singh, *A Guide to the Literature on Application of Communications Satellites to Educational Development* (Stanford, Calif., 1972), p. 5.

[2]*Principles of Cultural Cooperation*, Department of Mass Communication Publication, UNESCO, No. 64 (1970), p. 8.

[3]"Steel Axes for Stone Age Australians," in *Human Problems in Technological Change*, ed. E. H. Spicer (New York, 1952), pp. 85-86.

[4]Peter Farb, *Man's Rise to Civilization as Shown by the Indians of North America* (New York, 1968, discusses numerous millenarian movements. Dealing with Melanesian peoples, Peter Worsley, *The Trumpet Shall Sound*, 2d ed. (New York, 1968) has prepared a comprehensive account of such movements. He observes that similar movements have occurred in Africa, North and South America, China, Burma, Indonesia, Siberia, and Europe.

[5]Palle Christiansen, *The Melanesian Cargo Cult: Millenarism as a Factor in Cultural Change* (Copenhagen, 1969), p. 75.

[6]Bernard Barber, "Acculteration and Messianic Movements," in *Reader in Comparative Religion*, ed. William A. Lessa and Evon A. Vogt (Evanston, Ill., 1958), pp. 474-78.

[7]"A Note on Relative Deprivation Theory as Applied to Millenarian and Other Cult Movements," in *Millenial Dreams in Action: Essays in Comparative Study*, Comparative Studies in Society and History, Suppl. II (The Hague, 1962), pp. 209-14.

[8]E. Palmer Patterson, II, *The Canadian Indian: A History Since 1500* (Don Mills, Ont., 1972), pp. 104-05.

[9]Ibid.

[10]*Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada*, ed. James J. Talman and Elsie McLeod Murray (Toronto, 1943), p. 254.

[11]Farb, pp. 289-90.

[12]Worsley, pp. 224-25.

[13]See Worsley for examples.

[14]"Cargo Cults: The Problem of Explanation," *Oceania*, XXVII (June, 1957), 253.

[15]Unpubl. diss. (U. of Minn., 1965).

[16]Unpubl. diss. (West Virginia U., 1967).

[17] *The Information Machines* (New York, 1971), p. 224.

[18] *A Guide to Satellite Communication*, Reports and Papers on Mass Communication, UNESCO, No. 66 (1972), p. 11. See also Lewis, *Principles of Cultural Cooperation.*

[19] Bagdikian, p. 19.

[20] Ibid., p. 18.

[21] Ibid., p. 19.

**ABSTRACT**
**of paper entitled**
**IMPACT OF NONVERBAL COMMUNICATION IN AN INTERCULTURAL SETTING: THAILAND**

Nonverbal communication is particularly important in the area of intercultural communication. Familiar signals signify different and unexpected concepts, usually out-of-awareness, and unfamiliar stimuli cause confusion and uneasiness. This is illustrated by an in-depth description of selected nonverbal behaviors in Thailand. These include the sign language of WAI (ไหว้); the action language of the feet, the lowering of the body in respect to elders, and the protection of the KHWAN (ขวัญ); the object language of the DAM HUA (ผ้าดำหัว) ceremony and its use as communication mediator; and the paralanguage of the soft voice.

# IMPACT OF NONVERBAL COMMUNICATION IN AN INTERCULTURAL SETTING: THAILAND

**Suriya Smutkupt**
**and**
**La Ray M. Barna**

In spite of the popularization of the subject of nonverbal communication by Julius Fast[1] and others, a large proportion of the U.S. population remains unaware of its impact. Most students who have completed a course in basic speech communication, however, could probably quote Albert Mehrabian's statistics that only 7% of the impact of a message comes from the verbal portion, the rest being vocal (38%) and facial (55%).[2] Arthur L. Smith goes further to say, "It has been estimated that 65% of the social meaning of communication is carried by nonverbal communication."[3] These statistics indicate the tremendous potency of nonverbal communication and help to explain why it is of such prime importance in the rapidly developing area of intercultural communication. This paper will attempt to show how nonverbal stimuli so profoundly affect the messages sent and received in an intercultural setting, concentrating on Thailand as a specific instance.

Ironically, the West, which thinks and talks about nonverbal communication the most, actually uses it the least. In the verbal, problem-solving, dialectic orientation of Western civilization, the sounds and movement of nonverbal stimuli--which are basic, intimate, emotional, biologic---seem to be regarded as something to be ignored or hidden when possible. This has changed some in the last few years as the subject has become known and is being researched. With the development of relaxation training, sensory awareness, and workshops in how to express feelings, etc., efforts are being made to free the U.S. American from his verbal "hang-up." Even this is often *intellectually* approached however, because this is our cultural norm. Our children grow up hearing "Big boys don't cry," and "Keep a stiff upper lip." These and other admonitions train us to hide natural bodily expressions.

Other parts of the world rely much less on verbal language. This was expressed by an international student from Vietnam: "In our country silence is the most beautiful thing. We use it to show respect, agreement, or disagreement: still we can tell the difference between these three attitudes. Also, we are taught not to speak to an elderly person unless that person speaks to us. In the Western countries this would be an impoliteness. So I tried several times to break that silence but I found that I didn't have much to say because I thought everything was so personal."[4] People from some other countries are more aware of the perennial presence of message sending without words, and true to the spirit, they often don't even have language symbols to represent the concept, or sometimes even the concept of communication itself. One of the authors of this paper was traveling in Japan, a country considered to be the most Westernized of the nonWestern world, as faculty advisor for a study group. To her great consternation the way the teaching area of "speech communication" was translated into Japanese characters on her calling cards was as "teacher of how to make speeches for politics."

There is a tendency to rely on nonverbal communication in an intercultural situation because the language so often cannot be understood. Most people believe hand signals and bodily expressions are universal, an idea which can cause almost immediate difficulty. Not only can the same subtle nonverbal cues which a person constantly unknowingly sends and receives as metamessages (which add so much to his understanding intraculturally) cause problems interculturally, but conscious gestures often have different meanings also. A friendly wink is taken as an insult in India; an American teacher in Laos had his "O.K." signal of a circled thumb and index finger[5] mistaken as a "zero" or "bad" by his students; a Japanese watching a television quiz program in the U. S. thought the contestant had gone mad when she began jumping and shrieking in response to a thousand-dollar win. Persistence, trial and error, and only tentative acceptance of inferences are travelers' communication aids.

Ruesch and Kees identify the different types of nonverbal communication as sign language, action language and object language.[6] Sign language is designated as the conscious substitution of a gesture for words, numbers, or punctuation; action language refers to those bodily movements that are not consciously meant to communicate but nevertheless do; and object language refers to material and physical displays. To this should be added paralanguage: vocal qualities, characteristics, and usage. These definitions will be used for the subsequent headings in this article. The cultural derivation of nonverbal communication, its tendency to miscommunicate in an intercultural setting, and its persistence will now be illustrated by exploring a segment of Thai nonverbal communication.

## SIGN LANGUAGE IN THAILAND

Flora Davis records that: "Every culture has its own body language, and children absorb its nuances along with spoken language."[7] There are unique Thai nonverbal communications which all Thais absorb throughout their childhood as they grow up in the Thai culture. One well-known and distinctively Thai nonverbal phrase is WAI.[8] WAI is rigorously taught by verbal means to every child when he is able to comprehend verbal communication. The first nonverbal teaching the child receives is gestures of obeisance. A mother holding her infant in her arms puts its palms together between her own and raises them to the chin, to the forehead, according to the degree of deference that is called for. Before the child is taken from the house, its hands will be put in proper position to greet guests, and when the mother takes it to the temple she raises its palms still higher—— to pay homage to Buddha. Throughout his childhood he is constantly directed to WAI in every appropriate occasion until it becomes a regular component behavior. He also absorbs or imitates this behavioral form from grown-ups around him. The proper position of WAI is the placement of the palms of both hands together vertically holding them slightly under the chin, and ending with a slight head bow, chin toward the finger tips. Verbal utterances rarely accompany this act, nor does eye contact.

This nonverbal communication is performed to indicate greeting, bidding farewell, deep and sincere respect and appreciation. Normally, it is the most common nonverbal communication in the inner family circle and in public as well. Children never fail to WAI the family's elders; grandparents, parents, uncles, aunts and the like before leaving for school

in the morning.[9] In the classroom they begin their lessons by performing the WAI and standing up upon their teacher's arrival. They pay their homage to Buddha with a chanting while they are maintaining this position. Their daily lessons end with the WAI to bid farewell and thank their teacher. Upon their arrival at home, they immediately locate all the elders and greet them all with the WAI. In some of the orthodox families, everyone in the family performs the WAI along with a certain kind of chanting after finishing every meal.[10] Finally the daily activities end with paying homage to Buddha by performing the WAI and specific chant in front of the family's altar of the Buddha image. Normally three fragrant incense sticks will be lit accompanying some fresh flowers.[11]

When one passes a Buddhist monastery which houses a well-known Buddha image or Buddha's relic, one automatically performs the WAI.[12] In general, the WAI is practiced among the natives in public as a norm, like handshaking or uttering "Thank You" is practiced among Westerners. In the case of an introduction, normally a person who is younger or of lower socio-economic status will perform the WAI automatically, and usually his counterpart will also respond with the same WAI.

When Westerners visit Thailand they may be uncomfortable with the WAI and the absence of the handshake (a Japanese would call it the absence of "skinship"), unless they are in Bangkok or a place where cultural norms of the West are observed. They will also be made uneasy by the lack of eye contact. Even though this different behavior is accepted as "the custom" there usually lingers a vague feeling of confusion and/or rejection. Barred from familiar reassurances, nervous systems stay on guard even though the cortex is ordering a state of relaxation. There is the additional strain of not knowing how to respond to the WAI. Should he try to adopt this behavior and look and feel foolish? Should he go ahead and extend his hand as usual? Should he just stand there and grin? Or what?

This anxiety is compounded by other unfamiliar nonverbal rituals that occur regularly. For example, if a young person needs to walk through a group of older people who are talking in a room, he may drop to his knees and crawl, particularly if the older people are sitting on the floor. This is because the head is considered to be the highest bodily component and none should be above its level. The younger must lower the body and head to pay respect. One does not walk higher or look over senior people, a practice which seems awkward, uncomfortable, and slightly ridiculous to most Westerners. But the Thais have practiced this custom for a long time and accept it as a means of being polite and showing respect. How should the Westerner respond if it happens to him? Worse yet, what if he/she meets a shorter, older superior? Or what should he tell his children to do?

## ACTION LANGUAGE IN THAILAND

In Thailand an emphasis is placed on feet.[13] In general, almost all Westerners like to cross their legs while sitting on a chair, consequently they are not usually aware of the direction in which their crossing top foot is pointed. If anyone happens to have his top foot pointed at a Thai, the Thai will be upset and offended unless he is used to Western ways. If it occurs while business is being discussed the deal can very well be called off. If it is just a casual circumstance, there will be no potentially healthy relationship between the two. This, of course, will never be revealed or expressed verbally, but is commonly understood among the natives.

The crucial significance of this behavior is that Thais consider feet as the most rejected and lowest bodily component. Also, pointing out something by a foot is absolutely the highest (social) crime that one ever may commit. If you wish to suspend the relationship between you and a Thai, all you need to do is to indicate something to him by using one of your feet to point. When one author of this paper, a Thai, associates with his American friends and acquaintances, his face turns red when he encounters this act. He has no anger because he is fully aware that his American counterparts lack understanding of the Thai implication. Nevertheless, he fails to stop reacting physiologically. If this gesture is performed by a Thai, a fight between the two would probably be inevitable. Also, in a Thai verbal battle an opponent's face is normally compared with his attacker's heel or vice versa. This is the most insulting expression possible. To avoid a foot insult, Thais use only fingers, lips, and chin to point.

Another example of "action language" that would carry an unintended meaning for a Westerner is head touching. Head touching is forbidden in Thailand and also Laos as Edward Stewart reveals.[14] His statement that you dare not pat a child on the head in Laos is explained by Phaya Anuman Rejadhon when he states that KHWAN (ขวัญ), the whorl (or cowlick if you prefer) of hair on top of the head is interpreted as an individual's soul, spirit, morale, or life force.[15] A child's KHWAN is not strong enough to be touched; therefore he has a tendency to become ill if he is patted. Throughout his childhood his KHWAN is guarded as the most precious bodily component. The concept is directly and constantly taught to every child. Consequently, one guards his head where one's KHWAN exists with one's life. If a child is patted on the head he subsequently wets his bed or has a nightmare.[16] As a child grows up, his feeling about guarding his head, his sacred sanctuary, grows stronger. One easily loses a friend if one touches his friend's head, even unintentionally sometimes.

Although one author of this paper a Thai, is Americanized to a certain extent, his Thai nature returns when something like this occurs to him. One time an American girl friend tried to touch his head while they were eating in the school's cafeteria. His immediate, automatic, and natural reaction was to jerk his head away. He then blushed crimson for at least five minutes. It was clearly noticeable and eventually the girl received an explanation of the event which had just occurred. She apologized sincerely and vowed not to make any more attempts like that! It was very difficult to explain to her that there was no anger at what she had done.

The preceding is just one example which illustrates that one cannot go "native" all the way, as Hortense Powdermaker, an American anthropologist states.[17] No matter how Americanized persons from Thailand become, they are still Thais at certain crucial moments. The same can probably be said for persons from any culture.

## OBJECT LANGUAGE IN THAILAND

The old traditional Thai New Year's celebration begins at the first stroke of dawn on April 13th, and the most widely performed ceremony during this celebration is the DAM HUA (ดำหัว). This is vividly performed in the Northern Thai provinces, especially in the provincial

city of Chieng Mai. Participants will normally prepare several items: the festival lustrous water in different metal water containers (silver, brass, and other materials such as lacquerware, according to an individual status), fresh seasonal flowers, incense sticks, tapers, and a small inexpensive but practical article which may be produced on the person's farm. These items will be offered to the individual for whom the ceremony is performed. The first ceremonies are for the Buddhist monks and are performed at the local Buddhist monastery. These will be followed by similar ceremonies among the monks, and then ceremonies for the local government officials and elders in the community. Finally there will be ceremonies by the elderly individuals' kin which are carried on among members of each family. Normally, all children of every family will make a special effort to return home and participate in the celebration with their family, much like American families gather for the Christmas celebration.

The DAM HUA is a traditional religious ceremony that is particularly interesting to speech educators because it seems to be used to substitute for the lack of verbalized feedback and inference checking in Thailand. People from this particular area appear to avoid raising questions, which sometimes is very important if miscommunication is to be prevented. Doubts are rarely verbalized, especially when communicating with the elders and persons of higher socio-economic status; instead they watch for nonverbal cues and depend on their inferential assumptions. Perhaps the old traditional ceremony described below functions as a communication mediator to repair known and unknown damages. It is performed as follows.

The participants address the honored individual through a spokesman or by themselves in unison by formally and solemnly saying: "If any of our overt and/or covert acts and behaviors have trespassed against you throughout our communication, whether with or without deliberative intention, please be kind enough to forgive us, and let's start fresh from this day of the New Year. Please accept these humble articles which we bring you." The ceremonial objects are handed over and then the addressee dips one of his hands in the lustrous water and runs his wet hand through his hair to signify his acceptance of the reconciliation.[18] This takes place after formal responsive words of pardoning, gratitude, and blessing. Thus any bad feelings due to miscommunication are bridged and on goes the communication process.

## PARALANGUAGE IN THAILAND

One brief example of paralanguage will suffice. When Thais talk or discuss things, they speak in a very soft and gentle voice and manner. This is based on the belief that speaking in a soft voice is the one way to show good manners and an educated character. Voices are raised only to show the emotion of anger or in argument or confrontation. When first hearing persons speak in the United States, Thais infer that they are angry because they speak loudly. To a Thai it seems like everybody is yelling. It is very difficult to adjust to the realization that people can be both loud and happy or content at the same time.

## CONCLUSION

What has been described is just a part of the unique message system existing in the Thai culture. The WAI, the protection of the KHWAN, and the lowering of one's body to show respect to elders are examples of nonverbal behaviors that can be noticed (with the possible exception of the KHWAN) and therefore can be questioned and explained. Visitors to this culture can then make some accommodation, at least on a superficial level, to avoid insulting the host culture.

Westerners seem to have trouble comprehending the genuine metaphor of such rituals, however, probably because they cannot accept what does not "make sense" through their cultural orientation. As Edward Stewart says, "The American's concept of the world is rational in the sense that he believes the events of the world can be explained and the reasons for particular occurrences can be determined."[19] The people of Thailand have no such compulsion. This suggests a fundamental question which offers a challenge to the discipline of intercultural communication: Can persons with different world views achieve sufficient empathy to comprehend the feelings and rituals of the other?

[1]Julius Fast, BODY LANGUAGE, Pocket Books, New York, 1970.

[2]Albert Mehrabian, "Communication Without Words," in MESSAGES: A READER IN HUMAN COMMUNICATION, Ed. by Jean M. Civikly, Random House, New York, 1974, p. 87.

[3]Arthur L. Smith, "Interpersonal Communication Within Transracial Contexts," in INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION: A Reader, Ed. by L. A. Samovar and R. E. Porter, Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc., Belmont, California, 1972, p. 292.

[4]From an unpublished paper submitted in a course in intercultural communication at Portland State University taught by LaRay M. Barna.

[5]In Thailand, the gesture denotes a female sexual organ not "zero" or "bad." If the other index finger is inserted, the gesture---circled thumb and index finger, becomes an insulting sign of coitus and is used in a verbal battle to attack and/or to embarrass one's opponent. Therefore the gesture is used rarely except in this circumstance.

[6]J. Ruesch and M. Kees, NONVERBAL COMMUNICATION: NOTES OF VISUAL PERCEPTION OF HUMAN RELATIONS, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1956.

[7]Flora Davis, "How to Read Body Language" in MESSAGES: A READER IN HUMAN COMMUNICATION, Ed. by Jean M. Civikly, Random House, New York, 1974, p. 93.

[8]WAI (ไหว้) is written "Waaj" sometimes and used interchangeably as a verb and a noun.

KRAAB (กราบ)---to prostrate oneself (in obeisance)

The palms are pressed together (some Thais prefer to flatten the palms on the floor three times to pay homage to Buddha and only once to pay respect to Buddhist monks and parents) and the hands rest on the floor; the forehead rests against the hands. (The second parenthesis is added.) Mary R. Hass, THAI-ENGLISH STUDENT'S DICTIONARY, Stanford University Press, Stanford, Calif., 1972.

[9]A Thai family like the Thai author's is an extended family.

[10]This practice is absent in the family of one of the authors; however, a brother-in-law's aunt, who spends most of her time with the family, performs this ritual individually after every meal.

[11]The number "three" (3) of the incense sticks signifies: The Lord (Buddha), his teaching, and his representatives (the Buddhist monk). Fresh flowers are optional although the author's mother often uses some when she performs this ritual nightly before retiring. In this specific task one has to flatten one's drawn hands (which are raised up to one's forehead), and allow them to accompany one's head down to the floor in front of the Buddha. This is repeated three times.

[12]This is done by all Thais (including the first author) every time they pass by the Royal Monastery in Bangkok in which the famous Buddha image (the Emerald Buddha) is enshrined. Not knowing the significance of this behavior, Western tourists express surprise and usually ridicule this behavior as being absurd.

[13]Edward C. Stewart, AMERICAN CULTURAL PATTERNS: A CROSS CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE, Regional Council for International Education, Univ. of Pittsburgh, Pa. 1971, p. 14.

[14]Ibid, p. 14.

[15]Phaya Anuman Rejadhon, LIFE AND RITUAL IN OLD SIAM. NWR Press, New Haven, 1961, p. 189.

[16]This is a dominant belief of the people in the author's hometown of Chieng Mai.

[17]Hortense Powdermaker, STRANGER AND FRIEND, W. M. Norton Company, Inc. New York, 1966.

[18]DAM HUA refers to the act or process of cleaning the hair. After the DAM HUA ceremony, those addressed use the lustrous water to wash their hair.

[19]Edward C. Stewart, Op Cit., p. 30.

[20]See Edward T. Hall, THE SILENT LANGUAGE, Premier Books, Greenwich, Conn., 1959, for a more complete explanation of the out-of-awareness aspect of nonverbal communication.

# MULTIDIMENSIONAL SCALING OF CULTURAL PROCESSES: THE CASE OF MEXICO, SOUTH AFRICA AND THE UNITED STATES

**Rolf T. Wigand**
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## ABSTRACT

Cross-cultural comparative analysis may be viewed as the systematic measurement of isomorphic stimuli under different cultural conditions. In this view, comparisons become explicit and scientifically meaningful when behavior is compared under different cultural conditions. The researcher is concerned with the functional equivalence of his measurements and the validity of the measurement itself. Functionally equivalent measurements are those that assess the same construct in different cultures. In order to achieve functional equivalence, typically two main problems must be overcome: (1) Language barriers, which are ameliorated through the construction of linguistically equivalent instruments, and (2) psychologically equivalent tests have to be constructed. This study is an attempt to tap a transcultural, invariant construct -- for which various indicators can be found in differing cultures -- through psychologically equivalent tests. This article will focus on the second problem. Several key proponents of particular developmental process measurements are discussed and their ideas critiqued. Among them are: Lerner and Schramm (national economic development), Gerbner (cultural indicators), McClelland (need achievement), and Osgood (affective semantic space).

Cross-cultural or cross-national comparison can be viewed as a part of a complex social change process within a focal nation. Despite the popularity of the term "development" in the social sciences, little scholarly attention has been paid to the precise definition of the term. Each academic field (if not each individual researcher) uses and shapes the term "development" as it is beneficial for a particular study without concern that the notion of development incorporates a number of dimensions from all the social sciences. This is particularly true when one looks at the notion of "national development." These authors argue that the measurement of "national development" as it is represented in the literature is inadequate. They attempt to offer an alternative based upon classic multi-dimensional scaling which makes possible precise measurement of cultural change that then allows for cross-national comparison and analysis.

A study conducted in Mexico, South Africa and the U.S. is reported that tests the utility of the multi-dimensional methodology for cross-cultural research. Data and results are presented from this sub-set of a larger scale study. Translated equivalents of the same instrument are being administered presently in a number of additional nations (Australia, Israel, Canada, and Micronesia) and in a variety of languages, in order to gain some insight into the variable conceptions of the mass media (radio, television, newspapers and film) and traditional institutions (family and church) as well as interpersonal behavior.

The results indicate a high degree of similarity between the perception of these concepts despite the differing institutional and media structures in these three societies. These results are taken as a demonstration of the utility of the method in intercultural research.

## MULTIDIMENSIONAL SCALING OF CULTURAL PROCESSES: THE CASE OF MEXICO, SOUTH AFRICA AND THE UNITED STATES

### I. Introduction

Designers, planners, analysts and critics of national development processes have often dreamed of one over-all measure that would subsume all others in the assessment of national systems building and development. This article is concerned with the development of a measurement tool that approaches such utility.

Cross-cultural comparative analysis may be viewed as the explicit, systematic measurement of phenomena under culturally differing conditions. The comparison becomes explicit when human behavior is compared under different cultural conditions, i.e., when cultural conditions become quasi-independent variables in a study. Of considerable importance for cross-cultural comparison is the notion of validity. The researcher is concerned with the functional and conceptual equivalence of measurements, and the validity and the operational equivalence of the measurement itself. Functionally equivalent measurements assess the same construct in different cultures. In order to achieve functional equivalence, two main problems need to be solved:

1. Language barriers have to be overcome. This is accomplished through the construction of *linguistically equivalent* instructions and tests (e.g., back translation);

2. *Psychologically equivalent* tests have to be constructed. This is the attempt to tap a transcultural, invariant construct — for which various indicators can be found in differing cultures — through psychologically equivalent test items.

Other aspects of validity, e.g., representativeness of the sample, are not discussed since these are not directly related to the focal point of this article. The authors emphasize mainly the second point, the measurement process and tools. No attempt is made to present a *complete* discussion of cross-cultural comparison. Several key proponents of particular developmental process measurements are mentioned and their ideas are discussed. Cross-cultural or cross-national comparison can take many forms in various fields of social science. These notions are viewed in the light of complex social change or development processes within a focal nation. In this context, a method is presented through which such change can be precisely expressed which allows for improved cross-national comparison and analysis. Finally, the results of a study are reported as an example of the methodology that is currently being used.

Historically, sociology has been concerned with the process by which societies change from agricultural based systems to one in which wealth is generated through industrial production. This process can be described by what Tönnies (1912) calls *Gesellschaft* and *Gemeinschaft*. *Gesellschaft*-like civilizations are characterized by the governmental structure, commonly held conventions and public opinion that together tend to protect a civilization and glorify it as progress toward perfection. *Gemeinschaft*, is the conception in which folk life and folk culture persists. The notion of *Gesellschaft* in its relation to *Gemeinschaft* is a conceptual and functional opposite: the more the state has self-realized itself to perfection as a *Gesellschaft*, the more this state is opposed to and becomes estranged to folk culture. Over time, the forms of *Gemeinschaft* become incorporated by *Gesellschaft* — and eventually

will become *Gesellschaft*. Tönnies (1912) calls this final stage the civilization of the state, i.e., folk culture has given rise to the civilization of the state.

Similar views on societal change have been expressed by Durkheim (1960) and Spencer (1897). For Durkheim, Tönnies' terms were replaced by the notion of mechanical and organic solidarity. In a folk society, people share a common identity and perform common tasks. Society may be viewed as an undifferentiated whole. Solidarity is mechanical. As the social system evolves to an organic entity, the members of society begin to perform individualistic tasks while becoming interdependent allowing society to function as the organs of the body.

Parsons (1961) has added further to the discussion by identifying certain patterned variables. According to Parsons, society changes along four dimensions. They are:

1. Diffuseness to specificity of role obligations,
2. universality to particularistic roles,
3. acriptive to achievement evaluation of individuals, and
4. affectivity of behavior to affected neutrality.

The above discussed scholars provide elegant macro-conceptualizations, but unfortunately do not present operationalizations of these concepts in a satisfactory fashion. It appears important then, that a methodology must be developed that allows the researcher with an interest in cross-national comparison to make assessments of this developmental process, no matter if the emphasis of a given nation is *Gemeinschaft* or *Gesellschaft*. Ideally, it should reflect the precise measurement and change in these assessments over time that describe the state of a given nation.

## II. The Problem of Measurement Tools for Cross-National Comparative Analysis

Despite the popularity of the term "development" in the social sciences, little rigorous attention has been paid to a precise and unifying definition of the term. Each academic field uses and shapes the term "development" as is beneficial for a particular study without much concern that the notion of "development" incorporates a number of dimensions from all of the social sciences. This is particularly the case when we are concerned with the notion of "national development."

Western scholars first initiated systematic research into the problems of development. Among the pioneers that are frequently cited are Pye (1962), Riggs (1964), Schramm (1964), Lerner and Schramm (1967), and Adelman and Morris (1967). Some scholars express "development" in terms of industrialization or modernization (Lerner, 1958). This last area has particularly emphasized the socialization effects of the mass media and is reviewed by Wigand (1975). Other researchers have focused on such notions as industrialization, urbanization, political participation and many more. Recently, an entire issue of the *Journal of Communication* was devoted to the notion of *cultural exchange* vs. *invasion* (Osgood, McLuhan, & Winter, 1974). The most specific and mathematically precise discussion of "development" has occurred in economics. Most non-economic approaches were sooner or later forced to view their particular approach in terms of economic variables. Typically this resulted in the fact that development was being measured in economic terms.

Specifically, a certain amount of *real* dollars as the acceptable international monetary unit was the assessment that allowed for cross-national comparison. These authors argue that the measurement of "national development" as it is traceable in the literature is inadequate and they attempt to offer an alternative.

Schramm (1964) utilizes such a definition that lacks specificity. He defines a nation as being "underdeveloped" or as "developing" in which the annual per capita income is $300 or less. This is also the UNESCO criterion for underdeveloped nations. It is apparent that the sheer amount of dollars as a cross-national comparison base is not desirable since many forms of development cannot be expressed in dollars or the comparison in dollars is not relative to the focal nation.

A number of attempts have been made to move away from the cross-national comparison through monetary units, by comparing various objective properties of different cultures. One comprehensive example of this has been the Human Relations Area Files (1969).

Typically, measurement of cultural attributes entails the collection of data on particular structural or economic variables, which are then compared and differences inferred. The UNESCO Surveys (1972) are probably the best examples of this style of research. Fox and Miller (1966) compared occupational mobility in Great Britain, Japan, the Netherlands and the United States. They encountered trouble drawing generalizations about the process due to the difficulties in comparing the class structures in these nations. Goode (1964) looked at the same problem in thirteen countries as well as the urban areas of four additional nations and found striking similarities in the patterns of mobility despite the variance in level of industrialization in the sample societies.

A group of researchers that is closely associated with the so-called *social indicator movement* (Russet, Alker, Deutsch and Lasweil, 1964), provide an example of an approach that utilizes international comparisons. The social indicator movement is maybe best expressed by Sheldon and Moore (1968). In their scheme, a system of social indicators is established once variables whose empirical features and developmental conditions are identified and whose contributions to the overall condition of society are specified.

A particular branch of this social indicator movement, proposed by Gerbner (1969), and to some extent closer and more central to the particular focus of this article, is the emphasis on "cultural indicators." Through this particular scheme and with the proponent's own remarks, a number of limitations will be pointed out. Gerbner (1969) proposed a system based on the conception that trends in the composition and structure of mass-mediated public message systems constitute the common culture through which societies cultivate shared, publicly held ideas about facts, values, and contingencies of human life. Any change in the social bases and economic goals of mass-mediated messages result in a transformed common symbolic environment.

The realized change in this environment has social meaning such that it directs human activity. Gerbner (1969) suggests four standard category classes: (1) attention, (2) emphasis, (3) tendency, and (4) structure. This scheme, Gerbner admits, allows the researcher merely to narrow some of the gaps since "no comprehensive and comparative studies of the kind that might yield the cultural indicators needed for a realistic assessment of the much-debated condition of man in modern 'mass-cultures'" exists (1969: 132). The assessment of cultural

indicators is a move into the right direction toward establishing a method that allows for the adequate representation of development. Unfortunately, such a technique does not allow for various kinds of methodologically rigid and powerful analyses such that *prediction* and especially *explanation* are made possible. Particularly the attempted representation of various *process* notions through cultural indicators is limited. At best, the data can be utilized for time-series analyses. This implies that the important dymanic aspects of the development process cannot be captured and represented.

McClelland (1961) presents an alternative method of measuring rates of national development for purposes of making international comparison. Economists have been repeatedly challenged by McClelland to consider seriously non-GNP- related methods of measuring rates of national economic growth. This alternative suggested by McClelland centers around the concept of the need for achievement (n'Ach). He defines n'Ach as a specific type of motivation involving "a strong 'inner concern' with achievement (McClelland, 1961: 43)." Individuals who possess high n'Ach have a strong drive to do well in situations in which the person expects to be evaluated in terms of standards of excellence. McClelland argues that "a society with a generally high level of n'Ach will produce more energetic entrepeneurs who, in turn, produce more rapid economic development (McClelland, 1961: 205)." Ideally, n'Ach is assessed by the frequency of occurrence of achievement-related ideas. Such ideas may even be thoughts and fantasies which in some fashion reflect a concern with achievement. McClelland suggests many approaches how to measure n'Ach ranging from carefully designed psychological tests (1961: 43) to quantifying the degree to which designs on antique Greek vases suggest certain ways of "doodling" that may be said to be characteristic of subjects with high n'Ach (124-125). The measuring of n'Ach at the national level is accomplished primarily by the frequency of achievement related ideas and thoughts in school books used by second to fourth grade children (1961: 70).

McClelland's (1961) theory, appears to be contingent upon which operationalization and measure of development is used and, according to his data, is not even consistent in that case at all times.

The term "national development," therefore, ought to be defined such that a change in aggregate product and, at the same time, relevant social and cultural change which occurs in the development process is identifiable and measurable (Wigand, 1975). A large number of sociologists and social anthropologists have stressed this particular point (Braibanti & Spengler, 1961: Brode, 1969; Hoselitz & Moore, 1965; Smelser, 1963). In spite of this emphasis, little has been accomplished to overcome this problem of lack of integration between economic and sociological theories of development.

One reason that little integration has occurred is that most economists express their theories based on equilibrium models. If social and cultural factors are considered at all, they are assumed to remain constant or to have only minor contributions to the model. Such attempts of integrating economic with sociocultural variables were undertaken by Hoselitz (1957), Higgins (1963), Farace (1966), Farace and Donohew (1965), Adelman and Morris (1965). These authors stress the necessity that *it is imperative to be concerned about such limitations of a rather narrow economic approach and attempt to develop a methodology that incorporates non-economic elements of development*. Such a step is mandatory so that social scientists can assess the process of development of a focal nation as well as that the

results of such assessments allow for inter-nation comparison. It is obvious that these conditions must be met such that a greater conceptual clarity and consensus will result before a unifying theory can be developed.

What has been reviewed are the many attempts to compare various *objective* properties of different cultures. There has been a great deal of comparative *subjective* cultural research spurred on by Osgood's cognitive and psycholinguistic theory which argues that all connotative meaning can be expressed with three dimensions: evaluation, potency and activity. The location of an object in "affective semantic space" is determined by its value on these dimensions simultaneously. A symbol's subjective meaning may be evaluated by its location when generated with Osgood's "semantic differential scale" (Osgood, *et al.*, 1957). Cultural variation in meaning may be attributed to how translated equivalents for social objects are differentially situated in the average space of each society.

During the late 1950's and early 1960's much research was conducted to determine the generality of the affective semantic space to non-English speaking cultures. Kumata and Schramm (1956) found that the same factors were utilized to express affect in Japanese and Korean. Triandis and Osgood found with Greeks and Americans that, "... there are dimensions (evaluative, activity and potency) of connotative meaning that are independent of differences in language and culture (1958: 192)." Suci (1960) compared the semantic structures of three native American languages (Hopi, Zuni and Navaho) and Spanish. He found the evaluative and potency dimensions were present in all cultural groups. Tanaka, Oyama and Osgood (1963) concluded from a study with Japanese and American subjects that "...with respect to cross-cultural generality, it was found that the first three most salient factors as a group are identifiable as evaluative, potency, and activity in all cultural concept class combinations...(1963: 404)."

Since that time, Osgood (1974) reports research into the semantic structure of some 27 different language-culture communities. The language groups include Indo-European (English, French, German, Serbo-Croatian, Greek, Iranic, Indic), Finno-Ugric (Finnish, Magyar), Altaic (Turkish), Semitic (Arabic), Dravidian, Thai, Sino-Tibetian (Cantonese), Japanese, and Malayo-Polynesian. The results produced loadings in the .80 to .90 range on the evaluative dimension, loadings from the .40's to the .70's for the potency factor and for the activity dimension, .30 to .70. From these results, Osgood concludes, "This is rather convincing evidence for the universality of the affective meaning system (1974: 33-34)."

Despite the apparent generality of the affective semantic space and its utility as a theoretical and methodological device, there are serious shortcomings which render it less than ideal in the study of cultural change. As is the case with all factor analytic solutions, the dimensions which emerge are a function of the variables which are input into the analysis. This problem is compounded because the semantic differential is generated with a series of scales bounded with grammatically bipolar opposite adjectives. Wishner reports that results "indicate that grammatical antonyms do not necessarily correspond to psychological opposites" (1960: 110). Subjects are required to describe the objects on the scales provided which may or may not be the dimensions the individual uses to evaluate the symbol. Because Osgood always uses the same (or functionally translated equivalents) set of adjectives it appears to be no surprise that the same set of dimensions always emerge with varying degrees of explained variance.

Another consequence of the use of bipolar opposites to generate the dimensions is a bounded semantic space. The subjects are forced to respond within a very limited range, +3

to -3. This has the effect of limiting the variance between responses. Thus, it appears as if all individual cultures are to some degree more homogeneous than they might be otherwise. Furthermore, the variance between the social systems is reduced creating an illusion of similarity within the world. Because the space is bounded, it limits the instrument's use as a measure of cultural change. If the members of a culture evaluate a particular object very strongly (+ or -3) at one point in time and later the symbol becomes increasingly positive or negative, the semantic differential will be incapable of demonstrating and accounting for that change. Because the range of the variable is so small, only seven points, this shortcoming becomes a major problem.

The semantic differential is an ordinal scale. This greatly limits its utility as an indicator of change. One can only say that symbol "X" became more or less than "Y" (a magnitude) on any of the three dimensions without any indication of how much more or less (vs. a quantity). It then becomes impossible to discuss the rate at which a society is changing.

The instrument has the further property of being a discontinuous space. It goes from +3 to -3 with some mysterious properties occurring at the zero point. Osgood describes the origin, the point where all three dimensions are zero, as follows, "Like all self-respecting spaces, this one has a central origin — a locus of complete *meaninglessness* analogous to the neutral grey center of the color space (1974: 22)." It seems that a concept at this point in space has connotative meaning but not on the three dimensions Osgood suggests. Other dimensions may be used by the subject to discriminate the object.

Finally, the semantic differential breaks down the total meaning into a large number of separate qualitative aspects, rather than integrating the dimensions into a holistic description. This is because method stimuli are presented to the subjects one at a time and leads to the stimuli being evaluated in isolation without benefit of the other objects to be scaled.

Thus, the semantic differential has severe limitations in the measurement of cultural processes. Its dimensions are largely an artifact of the data collection procedures. They do not emerge from the data. The space has limited variance which homogenizes all the different cultures. Also, it limits the possible cultural change in any one society. The semantic differential is incapable of precise measurement of cultural change and, therefore, it is impossible to calculate rates of change. Additionally, the space is discontinuous at zero. Finally, it tends to look at stimuli in isolation rather than as an integrated whole.

Metric multidimensional-scaling (MDS) as a processual measurement technique, has none of these drawbacks. It is capable of measuring subjective cultural definitions which can be used to study cultural change. Metric multidimensional scaling as a method for measuring cultural processes has been discussed in depth by Woelfel (forthcoming, 1974), Barnett (1972, 1974), Woelfel and Barnett (1974) and Barnett, Serota and Taylor (1976). Briefly summarizing, their argument goes as follows. The meaning of any set of concepts may be represented by an N x N dissimilarity (distance) matrix. Each row (vector) of the matrix describes the definition of a concept which is defined as the symbol's relationship to all the other concepts. These data may be gathered by a series of direct paired comparisons. This distance matrix provides a static picture of the inter-relationships among a set of concepts possessed by a single individual. The collective consciousness (Durkheim, 1951), that aggregate psychological configuration which constitutes culture may be represented as the average distance matrix generated from a representative sample of the population of the

society under investigation. Process can be recorded in successive matrices at known time intervals and the changes between the matrices calculated.

While these matrices are accurate representations of a social system's culture, they are extremely cumbersome due to their size. In order to reduce the data to usable proportions MDS is applied. Given the above dissimilarity matrix, mathematical models exist which provide an interpretation of this psychological distance in terms of a non-Euclidean geometry. The concepts are treated as points in a spatial manifold and techniques are available to obtain the dimensionality of this space as well as the location of the particular concepts on these dimensions (Torgerson, 1958). The process is mathematically identical to converting a matrix of mileage distances among cities to a graphic representation such as a map. In that special case, an N x N table of cities may be described without any loss of information in a reduced 2-dimensional space. After a series of vector spaces has been generated at separate points in time, they may be rotated to a solution which minimizes the squared distance between the theoretically stable concepts. Analogously, it becomes possible to concentrate on the motion of particular dynamic cultural concepts. A computer program (GALILEO, Version 4) accomplishes the described calculations (Serota, 1974).

Metric MDS deals only with continuous distance over unlimited expanse-ratio level data by definition.[1] Because the subjects are free to respond with any real number while making their pair comparisons, the true variance between responses is not limited. Thus, all cultures are not homogenized and the differences between societies are not restricted. No matter how extreme a particular symbol's evaluation may become, the instrumentation is capable of handling the change. This ratio property of MDS makes possible the calculation of the rate of cultural change with great precision. By simply subtracting the coordinate loadings over time, motions through the space may be expressed as velocities. Given multiple time periods, accelerations may also be calculated. Velocities and accelerations are necessary for any discussion of *process* (Arundale, 1971, 1973). The rate at which any culture is changing can be found by the derivative. The second derivative, the instantaneous acceleration, is the rate at which the present rate of cultural change is being altered. With these coefficients, precise prediction of a society's culture at future points in time becomes possible.

Metric MDS is isotropic-nondirectional and the space in which the concepts are located is homogenous. These properties coupled with the continuous nature of the space eliminates the notion that any region of the space can be devoid of meaning. All locations are based upon the interrelations between all the concepts being investigated. As such, the meaning of any single concept is not dependent upon a predetermined location on specified dimensions. This holistic property is absent in Osgood's instrument which measures each symbol's meaning one at a time in reference to a predetermined set of bipolar adjectives. Finally, the underlying dimensions which define a concept are determined by the subjects who perceive the concepts, rather than by the researcher as in the case of the semantic differential.

Multidimensional scaling has been used successfully with subjects from non-English speaking cultures. The languages in which the research has been conducted were Japanese (Kono and Suga, 1966), Dutch (Van Der Kamp and Pols, 1971), Swedish (Ekman, 1955; Hanson, 1963), Finnish (Nordenstreng, 1968), and Spanish (D'Andrade *et al.*, 1972).

Heider and Olivier (1972) used MDS for cross-cultural comparisons to test the Whorfian hypothesis concerning the relation between cognitive and linguistic structure. Subjects from

the United States and the Dani culture of New Guinea were asked to perform two tasks. One involved scaling color names and the other scaling Munsell color chips. MDS on the four data sets yielded structures that were more similar under the cognitive conditions than the naming condition. In neither culture were distinct colors confused in memory more than across name boundaries. Thus, retention of color images appears to be unaffected by cultural differences in the semantic reference of color words.

Data for these studies were all collected by methods which were *non-metric* in nature. The researchers used a method of *triad combinations*, where the subjects were given three stimuli and asked to report which two were more similar; or a method of *pair comparison*, where the subjects were told to record the similarity of the pair on a discrete Likert-type scale whose range was very limited, nine points at the most; or the proportion of responses who selected a pair as being the correct relation.

Multidimensional scaling has been used in the past to investigate the dimensions underlying the meaning of lexical items (Cliff, Pennell and Young, 1966; Henley, 1969; G.A. Miller, 1969; Fillenbaum and Rapoport, 1971), the perception of speech sounds (Miller and Nicely, 1955; Degerman, 1972), and the processing of information (Schroder, Driver and Streufert, 1967; Rips, Shuben and Smith, 1973; Rumelhart and Abrahamson, 1973). Wish, Deutsch and Biener (1970) and Wish (1971) found two dimensions that underly the perceived similarity of seventeen different nations. They were pro-communist — pro-western and economically developed — underdeveloped.

III. Current Research

Currently, a study is being performed to test the utility of metric MDS for cross-cultural research. The research deals with the conceptions of the mass media in societies with varying information systems. Translated equivalents of the concepts below are being administered in eight different countries and in a variety of languages. The sample nations are the United States, Great Britain, Australia, South Africa, Israel, Mexico and Micronesia. The languages of the following family types will be used for the data collection. They are Indo-European (English, French, Afrikaans and Spanish), Semitic (Hebrew) and Polynesian.

This research should provide an insight into the vitality of metric MDS because of the variance in the cultures of the sample. However, as in the case with most comparative cultural research this piece suffers from an inadequate sample. This is clearly the case because the English speaking societies limit the sample variance in language. The entire sample is at a relatively high level of economic development compared to the rest of the world. The institutions in these nations are all fairly stable. This suggests that the sample should be altered to increase the variance between cultures.

The concepts that were scaled are:

1. Friends
2. Male
3. Television
4. Film-Cinema
5. Newspapers
6. Fighting
7. Trustworthiness
8. Religion
9. Female
10. Family
11. Helping
12. Radio
13. Credibility
14. Intelligence
15. Me

They have been chosen for three reasons: 1) to test Woelfel's theory of attitude change (Woelfel, forthcoming; Woelfel and Saltiel, 1974); 2) to observe the diffusion of television in South Africa; 3) to provide some evidence of television's impact on traditional institutions (e.g., family, church) and various interpersonal behavior.

*Theory*

The effects of media on entire societies and numerous cultural systems (McLuhan, 1964), on cities and communities (Daly, 1968), and on individuals (Katz and Lazarsfeld, 1955) have been studied. In all these studies, media were said to be either effective or not effective in producing a certain behavior, usually some sort of a decision. In retrospect, it seems that it is the *cumulative* effect of all media influences, or all influences from a single person or a set of persons that is compared — not the relative effectiveness of a single message sent by various sources.

Certain behaviors and attitudes, however, may be construed as rates (e.g., the number of cigarettes smoked per day — Mettlin, 1973) or pseudo-rates (e.g., favorableness toward smoking marijuana — Woelfel & Hernandez, 1970). With such continuous characterization of dependent attitude and behavioral variables, an individual's attitude, or rate of performing the behavior, may be represented as a vector, the magnitude of which may be assumed to be changed by every message relevant to the attitude by whatever source. The extent to which the vector is changed by receipt of the message can be taken as a measure of the so-called effectiveness of the particular message. One should note, however, that the vector may be shifted by the same message that originates with different sources. This conceptual scheme allows for an exact determination of the relative effectiveness of any single message from any source via any medium on an individual attitude for any individual or set of individuals. The author of this scheme, Woelfel (forthcoming), labeled this approach Linear Force Aggregation Theory (LFAT). LFAT is discussed in considerable detail in Woelfel and Hernandez (1970), Saltiel and Woelfel (1974), and Woelfel and Saltiel (1975).

Barnett (1974) hypothesized that as an innovation is diffused from one society to another, the two cultures will become more congruent with respect to the definition of the innovation and the constellation of objects to which it is functionally related. On January 1, 1975, television was introduced to South Africa. This will provide an empirical test of Barnett's theory. The configuration of media terms should become more similar to the countries which already have access to television. The rates of media usage should become more similar to the other nations in the sample. This alternation of media consumption patterns with the advent of new information sources has been observed by Frey (1973). Since 1950, television has been perceived as a more credible news source for the American people. Will this relationship between the concepts develop in South Africa?

Since many of the initial broadcasts are likely to be programs purchased from American networks, the B.B.C., or other European networks,[2] there is reason to expect that the attitudes of the viewers will be altered in the direction of the population from which the shows originated. This suggests the following questions. How great will the alterations be in the attitudes of the population toward the topic? Will the crime rates be altered as a result of the broadcast of violence? How will crime be redefined? Since American heroes use violence to achieve "just" ends, will credibility and violence become closer in space? What will be the

effect on helping behavior? Finally, what will be the effect of television on the perception of the family and religious institutions? The partial breakdown of these institutions in the U.S. occurred with the adoption of the television. American television presents male and female roles differently and this may affect these concepts and thus their motion and movement of the definition of the family. Will females be perceived as more credible and intelligent or will these concepts be stable?

The data sets reported in this study constitute the first waves from three of the sample nations: they are Mexico, South Africa, and the United States. It should be noted that this study is largely exploratory in nature. This is evidenced by the small sample sizes as discussed below. The data were gathered during the fall of 1974. The subjects were all students at the university level, a group clearly not representative of all three cultures.

The data collection site in the U.S. was East Lansing, Michigan, Michigan State University. Sample subjects were students in an introductory communication course, N = 47. In Mexico, junior and senior communication students at Universidad Iberoamericana, Mexico City, constituted the sample, N = 55. The South African sample was composed of students from an introductory psychology course at Rand Afrikaans University in Johannesburg, N = 31.

## IV. Results

The results of the data collections are summarized in Tables 1 through 9, and Figures 1 through 3. Tables 1 through 3 are the mean distance matrices for the pair comparisons made in the U.S., South Africa and Mexico. Tables 4 through 6 are the spatial manifolds generated from the mean distances matrices. The loadings of the concepts on the first three dimensions were then rotated to a least-square best fit solution and the differences between the data sets calculated. These results are presented in Tables 7 through 9. The graphic representations of the three rotated dimensions are presented in figures 1 through 3.

Table One. Means Matrix - United States, Fall 1974.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 0.0 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2 | 6.24 | 0.0 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3 | 0.65 | 8.02 | 0.0 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4 | 12.18 | 8.93 | 4.91 | 0.0 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 5 | 12.60 | 10.31 | 6.43 | 9.44 | 0.0 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 6 | 10.22 | 6.86 | 6.34 | 6.00 | 8.02 | 0.0 | | | | | | | | | |
| 7 | 4.58 | 7.58 | 12.63 | 10.26 | 11.07 | 9.95 | 0.0 | | | | | | | | |
| 8 | 7.77 | 9.19 | 12.30 | 12.58 | 11.45 | 11.11 | 8.45 | 0.0 | | | | | | | |
| 9 | 4.93 | 9.09 | 9.05 | 7.77 | 9.33 | 10.25 | 11.73 | 7.64 | 0.0 | | | | | | |
| 10 | 4.00 | 5.74 | 7.30 | 9.63 | 8.50 | 8.77 | 6.05 | 6.40 | 6.02 | 0.0 | | | | | |
| 11 | 3.18 | 7.09 | 11.09 | 11.65 | 8.23 | 10.34 | 3.02 | 6.45 | 8.00 | 4.29 | 0.0 | | | | |
| 12 | 7.84 | 6.16 | 7.44 | 9.07 | 5.84 | 10.07 | 8.24 | 14.57 | 8.53 | 9.00 | 10.10 | 0.0 | | | |
| 13 | 5.29 | 5.64 | 9.29 | 9.95 | 7.06 | 7.83 | 2.95 | 8.45 | 7.73 | 6.62 | 4.02 | 8.43 | 0.0 | | |
| 14 | 7.09 | 5.50 | 9.67 | 6.30 | 6.41 | 13.20 | 6.07 | 9.98 | 6.92 | 5.76 | 6.52 | 8.31 | 6.43 | 0.0 | |
| 15 | 4.59 | 3.57 | 11.95 | 8.79 | 8.05 | 10.24 | 4.48 | 10.29 | 3.97 | 4.28 | 5.88 | 7.90 | 5.31 | 4.83 | 0.0 |

Table Two. Means Matrix - South Africa, Fall 1974.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 0.0 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2 | 4.85 | 0.0 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3 | 8.04 | 7.58 | 0.0 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4 | 5.79 | 7.27 | 2.92 | 0.0 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 5 | 7.85 | 5.33 | 5.36 | 8.22 | 0.0 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 6 | 8.91 | 5.61 | 7.24 | 5.09 | 5.45 | 0.0 | | | | | | | | | |
| 7 | 3.18 | 5.37 | 8.29 | 7.94 | 8.52 | 10.44 | 0.0 | | | | | | | | |
| 8 | 5.42 | 6.21 | 9.13 | 8.56 | 9.55 | 8.44 | 3.79 | 0.0 | | | | | | | |
| 9 | 4.39 | 5.46 | 6.24 | 5.04 | 7.96 | 7.28 | 7.00 | 5.21 | 0.0 | | | | | | |
| 10 | 5.06 | 4.48 | 5.84 | 6.48 | 6.79 | 7.36 | 3.85 | 5.24 | 4.63 | 0.0 | | | | | |
| 11 | 4.24 | 4.76 | 7.36 | 7.67 | 6.06 | 11.85 | 3.64 | 4.12 | 4.10 | 3.91 | 0.0 | | | | |
| 12 | 7.27 | 6.45 | 5.32 | 8.18 | 5.73 | 8.06 | 6.90 | 6.58 | 5.58 | 5.91 | 6.67 | 0.0 | | | |
| 13 | 5.21 | 5.59 | 6.36 | 8.52 | 7.15 | 9.06 | 3.91 | 5.22 | 5.81 | 4.09 | 5.30 | 6.97 | 0.0 | | |
| 14 | 5.82 | 4.81 | 6.96 | 7.27 | 7.12 | 11.24 | 5.91 | 5.78 | 5.09 | 4.82 | 6.09 | 7.84 | 6.50 | 0.0 | |
| 15 | 3.91 | 2.87 | 8.40 | 6.97 | 5.52 | 9.39 | 3.48 | 5.61 | 5.39 | 3.73 | 5.12 | 7.22 | 4.81 | 4.12 | 0.0 |

rix - South Africa, Fall 1974.

| 15 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 0.0 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 8.22 | 0.0 | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 5.09 | 5.45 | 0.0 | | | | | | | | | |
| | 7.94 | 8.52 | 10.44 | 0.0 | | | | | | | | |
| | 8.56 | 9.55 | 8.44 | 3.79 | 0.0 | | | | | | | |
| | 5.04 | 7.96 | 7.28 | 7.00 | 5.21 | 0.0 | | | | | | |
| | 6.48 | 6.79 | 7.36 | 3.85 | 5.24 | 4.63 | 0.0 | | | | | |
| | 7.67 | 6.06 | 11.85 | 3.64 | 4.12 | 4.10 | 3.91 | 0.0 | | | | |
| | 8.18 | 5.73 | 8.06 | 6.90 | 6.58 | 5.58 | 5.91 | 6.67 | 0.0 | | | |
| | 8.52 | 7.15 | 9.06 | 3.91 | 5.22 | 5.81 | 4.09 | 5.30 | 6.97 | 0.0 | | |
| | 7.27 | 7.12 | 11.24 | 5.91 | 5.78 | 5.09 | 4.82 | 6.09 | 7.84 | 6.50 | 0.0 | |
| 0.0 | 6.97 | 5.52 | 9.39 | 3.48 | 5.61 | 5.39 | 3.73 | 5.12 | 7.22 | 4.81 | 4.12 | 0.0 |

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Table Three. Means Matrix - Mexico, Fall 1974.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 1 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 0.0 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2 | 4.02 | 0.0 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3 | 27.90 | 20.51 | 0.0 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4 | 10.91 | 22.59 | 15.08 | 0.0 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 5 | 15.28 | 17.98 | 24.74 | 22.83 | 0.0 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 6 | 35.75 | 26.07 | 28.47 | 24.79 | 31.42 | 0.0 | | | | | | | | | |
| 7 | 4.09 | 12.02 | 63.38 | 37.04 | 39.40 | 47.43 | 0.0 | | | | | | | | |
| 8 | 37.11 | 22.63 | 60.16 | 34.51 | 39.30 | 40.46 | 23.13 | 0.0 | | | | | | | |
| 9 | 8.02 | 6.49 | 15.79 | 17.04 | 27.42 | 26.09 | 13.40 | 17.02 | 0.0 | | | | | | |
| 10 | 7.22 | 15.34 | 16.47 | 22.02 | 24.77 | 20.40 | 23.19 | 15.78 | 12.90 | 0.0 | | | | | |
| 11 | 3.75 | 11.39 | 42.40 | 30.70 | 24.57 | 33.59 | 7.78 | 15.56 | 1.08 | 4.90 | 0.0 | | | | |
| 12 | 15.74 | 21.26 | 14.81 | 30.13 | 17.08 | 35.01 | 32.70 | 42.33 | 20.04 | 26.15 | 32.96 | 0.0 | | | |
| 13 | 6.83 | 13.75 | 42.50 | 22.90 | 33.84 | 32.72 | 9.41 | 29.69 | 17.54 | 12.96 | 6.61 | 45.92 | 0.0 | | |
| 14 | 8.45 | 12.02 | 51.81 | 14.89 | 17.41 | 56.12 | 12.58 | 33.07 | 9.67 | 13.04 | 10.11 | 26.46 | 10.58 | 0.0 | |
| 15 | 4.62 | 8.87 | 34.03 | 17.28 | 11.06 | 46.58 | 7.94 | 31.15 | 8.50 | 18.49 | 11.45 | 22.23 | 9.21 | 4.80 | 0. |

Matrix - Mexico, Fall 1974.

| 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 08 | 0.0 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 74 | 22.83 | 0.0 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 67 | 24.79 | 31.42 | 0.0 | | | | | | | | | |
| | 37.04 | 39.40 | 47.43 | 0.0 | | | | | | | | |
| 16 | 34.51 | 39.30 | 40.46 | 23.13 | 0.0 | | | | | | | |
| 79 | 17.04 | 27.42 | 26.09 | 13.40 | 17.02 | 0.0 | | | | | | |
| 17 | 22.02 | 24.77 | 20.40 | 23.19 | 15.78 | 12.90 | 0.0 | | | | | |
| 10 | 30.70 | 24.57 | 33.59 | 7.78 | 15.56 | 1.08 | 4.90 | 0.0 | | | | |
| 11 | 30.13 | 17.08 | 35.01 | 32.70 | 42.33 | 20.04 | 26.15 | 32.96 | 0.0 | | | |
| 10 | 22.90 | 33.84 | 32.72 | 9.41 | 29.69 | 17.54 | 12.96 | 6.61 | 45.92 | 0.0 | | |
| 11 | 14.89 | 17.41 | 56.12 | 12.58 | 33.07 | 9.67 | 13.04 | 10.11 | 26.46 | 10.58 | 0.0 | |
| 13 | 17.28 | 11.06 | 46.58 | 7.94 | 31.15 | 8.50 | 18.49 | 11.45 | 22.23 | 9.21 | 4.80 | 0.0 |

Table Four. Spatial Coordinates, U.S.A., Fall 1974.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | -4.46 | -.10 | -.64 | -3.31 | -2.18 | .76 | -1.39 | -.28 | -.19 | -.01 | .04 | 2.63 | -.52 | -1.93 | 1.88 |
| 2 | -.07 | -.47 | -2.05 | -2.28 | .63 | 1.50 | 3.51 | -.98 | .19 | -.01 | .16 | -.52 | -.29 | .65 | 2.61 |
| 3 | 6.59 | 1.81 | .79 | -.16 | -1.24 | 3.10 | -.52 | -.14 | -.63 | -.00 | -.04 | .38 | 2.75 | 1.21 | -.71 |
| 4 | 5.65 | .22 | 1.52 | -1.50 | 4.68 | -.57 | -1.26 | .10 | .03 | -.01 | .14 | -.59 | -.21 | -2.65 | 1.86 |
| 5 | 4.15 | -1.27 | .93 | 5.48 | -1.80 | -1.34 | .70 | .34 | .28 | .02 | -.03 | 1.29 | -.33 | -.33 | 3.27 |
| 6 | 4.59 | 4.85 | -4.00 | -.76 | .15 | -1.89 | .19 | .37 | .00 | -.00 | .07 | 1.06 | -1.68 | 1.32 | -2.76 |
| 7 | -4.09 | -1.45 | -3.91 | .92 | 2.54 | .31 | -1.67 | .63 | .51 | .00 | -.17 | -.12 | .94 | 3.04 | 1.93 |
| 8 | -4.69 | 5.79 | 2.26 | 1.56 | .54 | .60 | .41 | -.65 | 1.31 | .01 | -.14 | -.08 | .83 | -1.42 | -1.32 |
| 9 | -.18 | .71 | 5.06 | -2.57 | -1.81 | -2.35 | -.69 | -.52 | .06 | -.01 | .02 | -1.06 | -.45 | 3.08 | 1.29 |
| 10 | 1.70 | 1.22 | .98 | -.27 | -.77 | 1.66 | .57 | 2.55 | -.60 | -.00 | -.33 | -1.29 | -1.58 | -.73 | .36 |
| 11 | 4.19 | .46 | -.67 | 2.27 | -.91 | .20 | -.58 | .39 | -.52 | .01 | .74 | -1.17 | .23 | -.36 | -.74 |
| 12 | 3.42 | -4.85 | -1.88 | -1.10 | -2.79 | .38 | -.71 | -.10 | 1.24 | -.00 | -.04 | -1.35 | -.26 | -1.29 | -2.18 |
| 13 | 1.56 | -.04 | -2.08 | 1.71 | -.21 | -1.02 | -.45 | -2.17 | -1.20 | .01 | -.36 | -1.22 | -.36 | -1.14 | -.31 |
| 14 | -1.17 | -4.15 | 3.28 | 1.33 | 2.44 | 1.74 | .28 | -.57 | -.16 | .01 | .02 | 1.35 | -1.72 | 1.34 | -3.22 |
| 15 | -2.31 | -2.72 | .40 | -1.32 | .72 | -3.05 | 1.59 | 1.04 | -.36 | -.01 | -.07 | .69 | 2.60 | -.88 | -1.95 |

Table Five. Spatial Coordinates, South Africa, Fall 1974.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | -1.82 | -1.86 | .57 | -1.03 | .16 | -2.09 | -.02 | -1.16 | -.53 | .40 | -.01 | .60 | -.47 | .81 | -.07 |
| 2 | .12 | -.59 | -2.67 | -1.45 | -.85 | -.03 | .08 | .22 | .05 | 1.36 | -.00 | -.42 | -.42 | .32 | -1.59 |
| 3 | 3.61 | 2.59 | 3.03 | .50 | 1.24 | .61 | -.01 | .15 | -.31 | .27 | .01 | -.11 | .04 | 2.39 | .03 |
| 4 | 3.44 | -1.72 | 3.58 | -1.78 | .32 | -.80 | -.72 | .34 | -.06 | -.30 | -.01 | -.22 | -.58 | -1.67 | -1.56 |
| 5 | 2.98 | 3.62 | -2.81 | -1.10 | -.12 | -.79 | .26 | .41 | -.48 | -.57 | .01 | .26 | .66 | -.43 | -2.34 |
| 6 | 6.68 | -2.93 | -2.23 | .44 | .27 | .31 | -.06 | .34 | -.10 | -.04 | -.01 | .10 | .29 | -.07 | 3.24 |
| 7 | -3.61 | -.70 | -.22 | .40 | 1.86 | -.59 | -1.71 | -.05 | .12 | .13 | -.00 | -.17 | 1.82 | -.17 | .09 |
| 8 | -2.65 | -2.59 | -.49 | 2.47 | -.92 | 1.11 | -.47 | 1.23 | -.96 | -.55 | -.01 | .05 | -.46 | .78 | -1.86 |
| 9 | .28 | -1.43 | 1.64 | 95 | -2.11 | -.09 | 2.00 | -.83 | .43 | -.14 | -.00 | -.12 | 1.34 | .05 | -.77 |
| 10 | -.64 | -.17 | .02 | .25 | .90 | 1.01 | .16 | .76 | 2.14 | .11 | -.00 | .39 | -.34 | -.04 | -.98 |
| 11 | -3.40 | 1.75 | .69 | .34 | -.44 | -2.05 | .94 | 1.75 | -.01 | .03 | .01 | -.11 | -.30 | -.34 | 2.69 |
| 12 | 1.03 | 2.40 | -.14 | 3.54 | -1.59 | -.39 | -1.42 | -1.22 | .33 | .14 | .01 | -.04 | -.64 | -.81 | .52 |
| 13 | -1.64 | .32 | -.68 | 1.29 | 2.87 | 1.06 | 1.63 | -.90 | -.64 | .04 | .00 | -.11 | -.57 | -1.23 | -.03 |
| 14 | -2.33 | 1.35 | 1.21 | -2.54 | -1.45 | 2.68 | -.45 | -.06 | -.58 | .25 | .00 | .23 | .28 | -.77 | 1.65 |
| 15 | -2.05 | -.05 | -1.51 | -2.26 | -.13 | .03 | -.23 | -1.00 | .60 | -1.13 | -.00 | -.34 | -.66 | 1.17 | .97 |
| Eigenroots | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 127.27 | 55.14 | 50.04 | 41.03 | 25.07 | 21.37 | 13.58 | 10.94 | 7.53 | 4.20 | .00 | -1.05 | -8.04 | -14.31 | -37.12 |

Table Six. Spatial Coordinates, Mexico, Fall 1974.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | -.87 | -7.87 | -4.23 | -7.76 | 1.64 | 3.10 | 3.31 | -.67 | -.00 | -.18 | -5.19 | 9.67 | 2.87 | -7.71 | -.56 |
| 2 | .42 | 1.05 | 1.87 | 3.74 | .56 | -3.16 | -4.59 | 2.92 | .00 | -1.18 | -3.08 | -.01 | -2.82 | -2.71 | -9.35 |
| 3 | 36.16 | -4.40 | -4.14 | -1.21 | -5.26 | -5.01 | -.44 | -.03 | .10 | .10 | -1.23 | .50 | .26 | 7.83 | 20.09 |
| 4 | 9.32 | -1.20 | -9.85 | 9.48 | -3.04 | 9.55 | -1.48 | -.22 | .02 | .02 | -3.76 | -2.80 | -3.57 | 5.63 | -8.75 |
| 5 | 9.41 | -9.67 | 4.04 | 7.29 | 13.74 | -1.25 | -.79 | -.04 | .03 | .16 | 3.58 | 5.46 | -2.10 | 7.11 | -4.24 |
| 6 | 20.01 | 24.77 | 1.39 | -3.71 | 6.08 | 4.67 | -.08 | -.08 | .05 | .07 | 2.61 | -2.58 | -1.80 | -11.28 | 7.18 |
| 7 | -26.32 | -.18 | 3.99 | -9.87 | -.31 | 4.47 | -.37 | .37 | -.07 | .64 | 1.16 | -.10 | -7.54 | 12.06 | 11.51 |
| 8 | -18.39 | 17.83 | 10.62 | 10.82 | -3.15 | -1.23 | -1.05 | .11 | -.05 | .35 | -2.96 | 3.95 | 6.75 | 1.15 | 8.68 |
| 9 | .73 | 2.64 | 2.17 | -1.22 | -10.26 | -.64 | -3.18 | -1.45 | .00 | -.85 | 6.02 | 4.95 | -3.15 | -1.82 | -11.08 |
| 10 | 2.34 | 6.91 | -.78 | 2.14 | -3.66 | -4.58 | 8.62 | .87 | .01 | 1.04 | .50 | -.52 | -6.25 | .18 | -11.52 |
| 11 | -11.12 | 4.45 | .51 | -1.82 | 5.10 | -5.68 | .40 | -2.33 | -.03 | -1.23 | -3.99 | -6.13 | -2.60 | 2.69 | -3.67 |
| 12 | 12.55 | -12.61 | 17.37 | -4.18 | -1.88 | 3.30 | 1.58 | -.00 | .03 | .19 | .35 | -5.33 | 9.54 | 1.81 | -8.23 |
| 13 | -11.23 | 6.54 | -17.27 | -3.56 | 1.69 | -1.36 | -.20 | .44 | -.03 | .19 | 3.41 | -1.38 | 12.48 | 5.82 | -4.82 |
| 14 | -16.54 | -16.08 | -2.86 | 6.86 | -.95 | 1.29 | 3.19 | .61 | -.04 | -1.39 | 3.26 | -3.06 | -.39 | -9.48 | 14.27 |
| 15 | -6.45 | -12.16 | -2.82 | .48 | -.31 | -3.45 | -4.90 | -.51 | -.02 | 2.26 | -.69 | -2.62 | -1.71 | -11.28 | .48 |

Eigenroots

3643.84 1791.95 904.07 533.43 427.55 260.62 157.53 18.32 -.03 -12.44 -157.09 -262.62 -444.78 -749.25 -1409.38

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Table Seven. Rotated 3 Dimensions, U.S.A.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Friends | -4.46 | -.10 | -.64 |
| 2 | Male | -.07 | -.47 | -2.05 |
| 3 | Television | 6.59 | 1.81 | .79 |
| 4 | Film | 5.65 | .22 | 1.52 |
| 5 | Newspapers | 4.15 | -1.27 | .93 |
| 6 | Fighting | 4.59 | 4.85 | -4.00 |
| 7 | Trustworthiness | -4.09 | -1.45 | -3.91 |
| 8 | Religion | -4.69 | 5.79 | 2.26 |
| 9 | Female | -.17 | .71 | 5.06 |
| 10 | Family | -1.70 | 1.22 | .98 |
| 11 | Helping | -4.19 | .46 | -.67 |
| 12 | Radio | 3.42 | -4.85 | -1.88 |
| 13 | Credibility | -1.55 | -.04 | -2.08 |
| 14 | Intelligence | -1.17 | -4.15 | 3.28 |
| 15 | Me | -2.31 | -2.72 | .40 |

Table Eight. Rotated 3 Dimensions, and Difference between U.S.A. and South Africa

| | | | | | U.S.-South African Difference |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Friends | -2.10 | 1.30 | 1.00 | 3.20 UNITS |
| 2 | Male | -.64 | .49 | -2.62 | 1.25 UNITS |
| 3 | Television | 4.76 | -1.36 | 2.10 | 3.83 UNITS |
| 4 | Film | 3.52 | 2.76 | 2.77 | 3.54 UNITS |
| 5 | Newspapers | 3.18 | -2.76 | -3.48 | 4.75 UNITS |
| 6 | Fighting | 4.94 | 4.58 | -3.59 | .59 UNITS |
| 7 | Trustworthiness | -3.62 | -.35 | .61 | 4.67 UNITS |
| 8 | Religion | -3.31 | 1.72 | .17 | 4.77 UNITS |
| 9 | Female | .22 | 1.51 | 1.57 | 3.60 UNITS |
| 10 | Family | -.64 | -.01 | .17 | 1.81 UNITS |
| 11 | Helping | -2.54 | -2.59 | 1.39 | 4.04 UNITS |
| 12 | Radio | 1.60 | -2.03 | -.42 | 3.66 UNITS |
| 13 | Credibility | -1.59 | -.79 | -.31 | 1.92 UNITS |
| 14 | Intelligence | -1.53 | -1.89 | 1.67 | 2.80 UNITS |
| 15 | Me | -2.25 | -.59 | -1.01 | 2.56 UNITS |
| | | | | Mean | 3.14 UNITS |

Table Nine. Rotated 3 Dimensions, and Difference between Mexico, and U.S.A. and South Africa

| | | I | II | III | U.S.-Mexican Difference | South African-Mexican Difference |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Friends | -.42 | -6.04 | 6.63 | 9.87 UNITS | 9.40 UNITS |
| 2 | Male | .18 | .37 | -2.15 | 4.14 UNITS | .95 UNITS |
| 3 | Television | 36.31 | -4.96 | .90 | 30.31 UNITS | 31.78 UNITS |
| 4 | Film | 10.54 | 1.47 | 8.49 | 11.89 UNITS | 9.15 UNITS |
| 5 | Newspapers | 8.63 | -10.99 | -1.80 | 10.09 UNITS | 10.01 UNITS |
| 6 | Fighting | 20.03 | 21.81 | -11.79 | 25.05 UNITS | 24.33 UNITS |
| 7 | Trustworthiness | -26.21 | .09 | -.46 | 23.54 UNITS | 23.03 UNITS |
| 8 | Religion | -19.37 | 14.54 | -13.50 | 20.13 UNITS | 24.67 UNITS |
| 9 | Female | .47 | 1.76 | -2.98 | 4.33 UNITS | 4.57 UNITS |
| 10 | Family | 2.53 | 6.65 | -1.80 | 7.24 UNITS | 7.64 UNITS |
| 11 | Helping | -11.01 | 4.70 | -.57 | 7.85 UNITS | 11.35 UNITS |
| 12 | Radio | 9.90 | -18.22 | -13.72 | 23.91 UNITS | 22.54 UNITS |
| 13 | Credibility | -8.70 | 12.36 | 15.45 | 19.03 UNITS | 21.72 UNITS |
| 14 | Intelligence | -16.26 | -13.33 | 9.92 | 19.46 UNITS | 20.39 UNITS |
| 15 | Me | -6.21 | -10.22 | 7.38 | 10.78 UNITS | 13.38 UNITS |
| | | | | Mean | 15.18 UNITS | 15.66 UNITS |

An overlay of all three spaces into a joint space for comparative purposes is possible, but is not presented here. Space limitations prevent a clear graphical representation without enlargement, since forty-five, in part, possibly overlapping locations in a three-dimensional space are difficult to discern. With much more precision, comparison is possible among the concepts' locations within a joint, rotated three-dimensional space by discussing the numerical differences, i.e., distances, as presented in Tables 8 and 9.

The results of the spatial coordinates can best be described with a four dimensional solution.[3] For all three samples, this was determined by the use of a scree test (Tatusoka, 1971: 147). In the case of the U.S. sample, this explained 77.37% of the variance; for Mexico 88.83%; and for South Africa, 76.79%. For visual presentation, the first three dimensions were plotted. These representations explain 66.06% of the variance for the U.S. sample, 81.94% for Mexico and 65.27% for South Africa.

Perhaps the most interesting finding of this study is the high degree of similarity between the three spaces. If one examines Tables 8 and 9, this conclusion seems warranted. The average difference in loadings between the U.S. and South African spatial manifold is only 3.14 units and 15.17 units between the U.S. and Mexico. The two English speaking samples are almost congruent, while the Spanish speaking sample displays only greater variance along identical dimensions. All the concepts are in the same general locations, they are only further apart. It is not difficult to suggest explanation for this finding. All three samples are comprised of students studying communication or psychology and are living in culturally and economically advanced strata of the respective societies. Thus, it is not surprising that they share similar conceptions of the mass media and their relation to the existing institutions in society despite the fact that the media systems differ to such a great extent.

The first and second dimensions may be interpreted as evaluative dimensions. Along the first dimension the concepts are arrayed from fighting to helping, religion and trustworthy. The media load closer to fighting. The second dimension runs from fighting to the media with the positive concepts (friends, family, intelligence, helping and credibility) loading closer to the media. The authors feel that these two dimensions should be considered simultaneously. The space seems to have a clustering running from aggressive behaviors to altruistic ones. The third dimension may be taken to be a male-female dimension, with fighting and trustworthy closer to male, and female lying closer to family.

## V. Discussion

These findings present only three static configurations of the relationship between the mass media and social institutions from three different cultures. In order to provide any insight in terms of Woelfel's attitude theory and Barnett's hypothesis about the diffusion of cultural objects, identically gathered data sets must be generated at many points in time. Considering the exploratory nature of this study, the authors hope to report more conclusive findings which will substantiate or reject those ideas, using dynamic designs on large representative samples.

The utility of metric multidimensional scaling for intercultural research in general and the development process in specific has been demonstrated by the above results. Because of the high degree of consistency in the findings across the different cultures, the authors feel the results represent valid relationships between the concepts. Had haphazard results appeared

(low degree of correspondence between the spaces), the validity would be questionable. Based on these data, the authors feel confident in suggesting the following inferences. All three cultures perceive the media as being a vehicle of violence rather than altruistic ideals. There is a basic and definite differentiation between males and females in each of the societies manifested by these concepts' relationship to such conceptual locations as family, fighting, credibility, helping and intelligence. The central question the authors wish to suggest from this is, *How will these relationships change over time as a function of social and economic alterations in society?*

One result which further demonstrates the utility of metric multidimensional scaling is the size of the Mexican space. Had the authors chosen a measurement system which uses a bounded scale, the Mexican space would have looked nearly identical to the other two societies. Actually, the Mexican subjects perceived greater dissimilarity (variance) between the concepts. This raises the following question: *Is there some systematic relationship in the development process which produces a greater degree of uncertainty in the social system?* Social theorists such as Durkheim (1951) and Riesman *et al.*, (1950) have suggested terms like anomie or alienation for personality states of the "marginal man" in transitional societies. Of course, in order to examine this phenomenon many more data points and more sample sets of different societal strata over long periods of time are necessary.

With regard to future proposed research, in addition to those variables already discussed and measured, locations in the space of various media vis-à-vis the subject matter of their content and things like credibility concepts, etc., are considered as essential in order to understand their respective impact. Other concepts that are considered as necessary such that the assessment of all these concepts would make up a rather accurate picture of the specific conceptual space under investigation. Without much deliberation, it can be quickly realized that such an endeavor would involve too many concepts for a single administration.[4] As an alternative solution to this dilemma, one should plot into this space together with the dependent concepts several *concepts of extreme stability over time* to serve as fixed reference points. This study has demonstrated that the concepts male and female may serve as such relatively fixed reference points.[5] When future plots are to be made, then, as long as the fixed references are included in these administrations, concepts scaled previously can be plotted into the new spaces on the basis of their previous, known relationships to the fixed referents.

The above described procedures allow the cross-cultural researcher over the years to "build up" an approximate plot of many more concepts than we can handle in any single administration. Clearly, the more complete the space is, the more precisely we can predict and explain otherwise hopelessly complicated phenomena. Furthermore, our proposed approach is a considerable step toward the measurement and theoretical understanding of the cross-cultural process in its multidimensional complexity as a *process*. The notion of *process*, however, suggests changes, movement over time and various dynamic characteristics that can be assessed and represented in this fashion. Such a process, then, is to be understood as an evolution toward a goal state or consensus rather than process *per se* which is in itself not goal directed.

## VI. Summary

This study examined the literature on communication and development and largely rejected previous conceptualizations because of their pronounced concentration on economic growth

measured by GNP as the dependent variable. After examining the measures of subjective culture, the authors propose a new measure, metric multidimensional scaling. Its advantages and implications are described. Current research in three different societies is presented, using metric multidimensional scaling. The utility of the instrument and technique is demonstrated via the analysis of data sets from Mexico, South Africa, and the United States. Finally, questions are raised for future consideration.

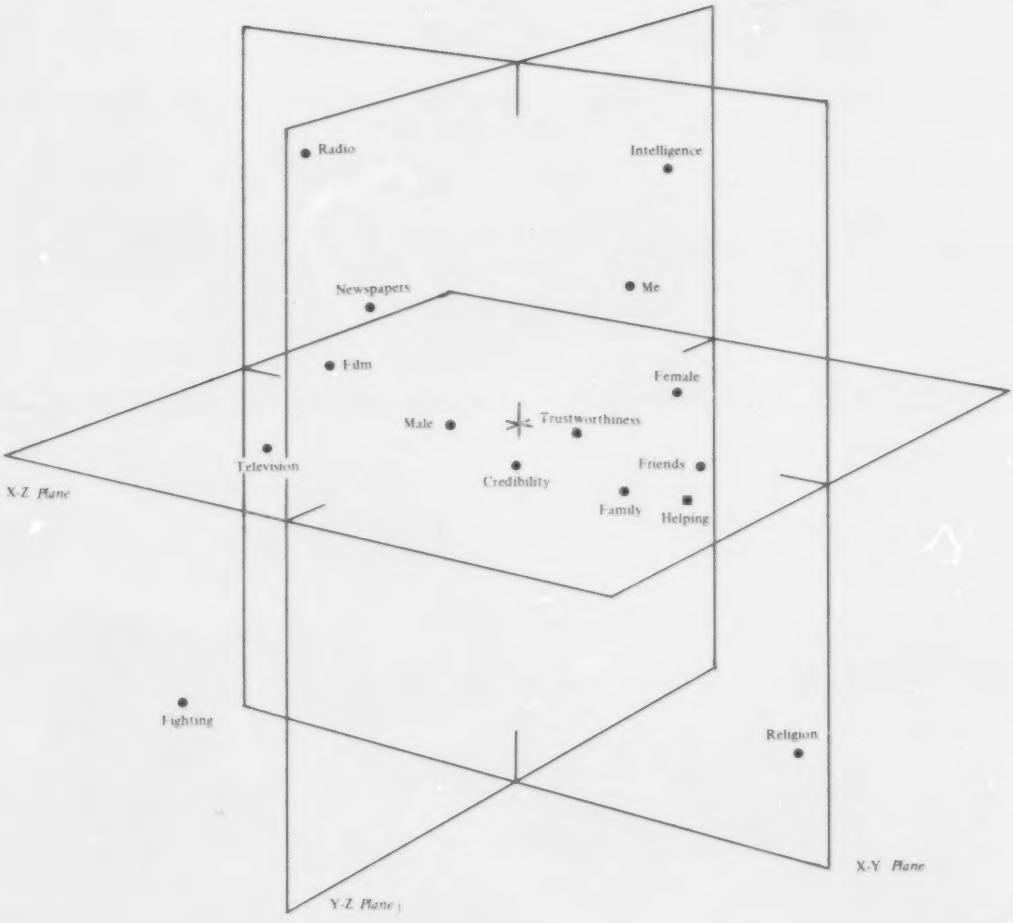


Figure 1. Concepts represented in a three-dimensional space for United States

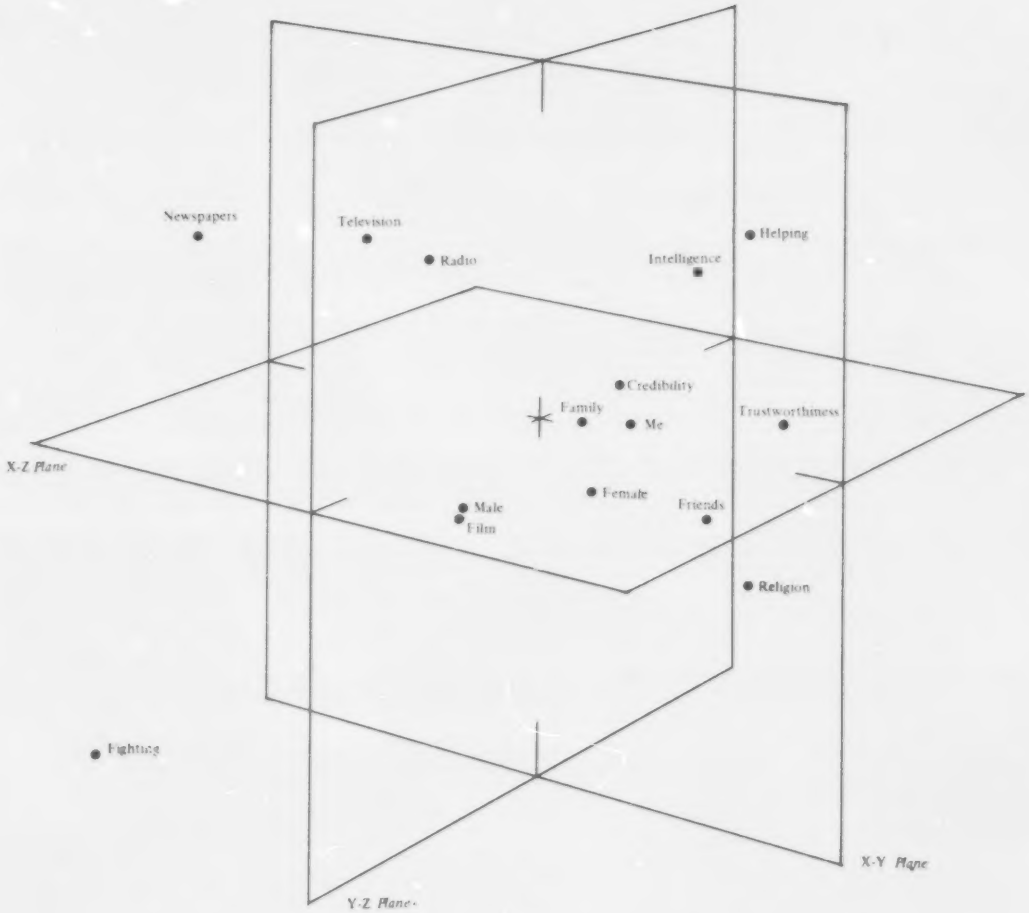


Figure 2. Concepts represented in a three-dimensional space for South Africa

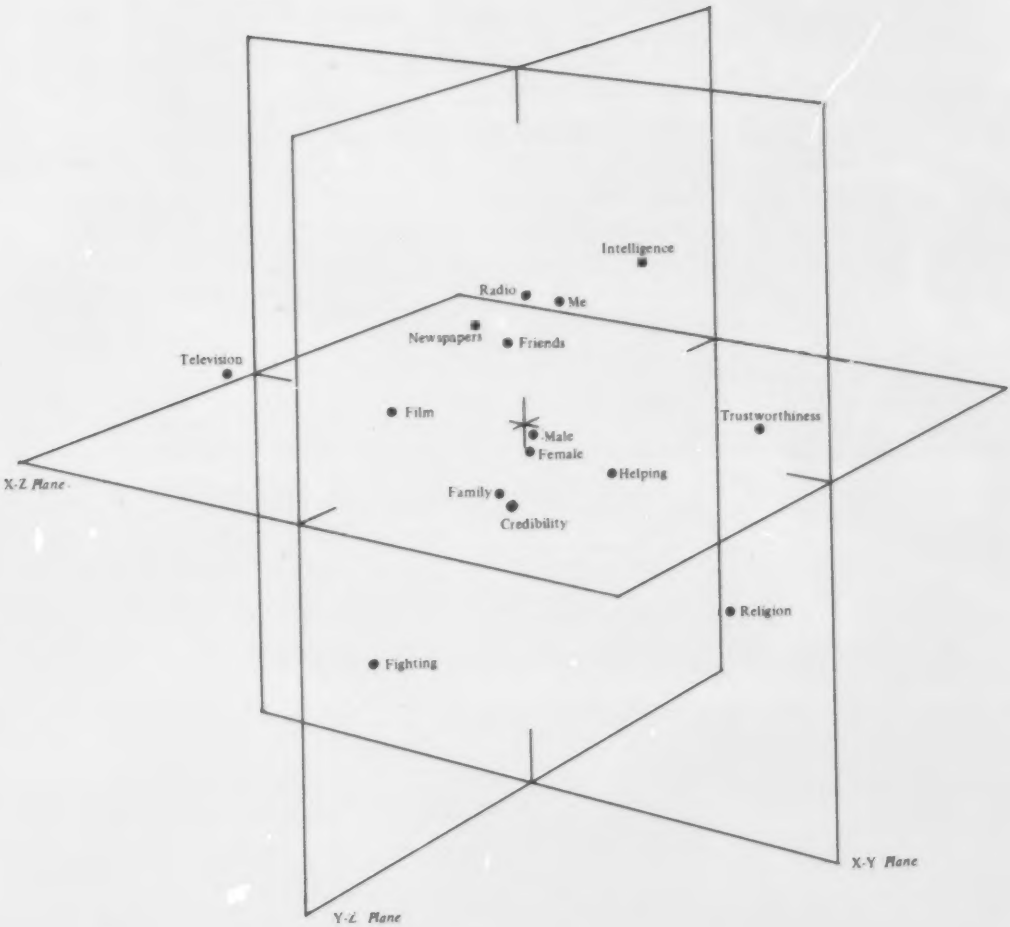


Figure 3. Concepts represented in a three-dimensional space for Mexico

## FOOTNOTES

[1]Non-metric scaling models are available, but these techniques apply principally to the reduction of ordinal matrices, and are not applicable to the measurement system proposed in this study. While they perhaps provide an accurate description of the structure of the data, change in the space over time cannot be observed. The reason for this is that the metric has been destroyed by using ordinal data and bounding to gain reliability for the individual case [cf., Shepard, 1966, 1972].

[2]This has been the case when countries first adopt television because of the great cost of production. Wells (1972) discusses this problem with regards to Latin America.

[3]This solution concerns only the real roots. Recent research has shown that the imaginary roots contain as much variance as real roots and are equally reliable (Danes & Woelfel, 1975).

[4]The reason is that it requires N(N-1) pair comparisons for each N concept, so the increase in pair comparisons is geometric while the increase in concepts is arthimetic.

[5]It should be noted that in an absolute sense *change per se* cannot be measured in any of the sciences. Due to the lack of knowledge about an absolute state of an object one cannot express this object in terms of *absolute change*: one can merely express change relative to some earlier state of the object. This situation demonstrates itself with even more complications once several dimensionalities have been considered, i.e., no change might be realized within one dimension, the opposite may be true with other dimensions.

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## CRITICAL REVIEW OF RECENT LITERATURE

**William J. Starosta**

AN INTRODUCTION TO INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION, John C. Condon, Jr. and Fathi Yousef. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1975).

The Introduction by Condon and Yousef fulfills a long-standing need for an authored beginning college text in intercultural communication. In opposition to the spiralling proliferation of articles awaiting collection and presentation, this text offers, by comparison, a coherent statement concerning possible parameters for intercultural communication research. That such "coherence" is desirable is quite evident. That, by emphasizing one perspective, others are neglected, must also be anticipated. This review opts for coherence over comprehensiveness, theory over unorganized experience, and for creative insight over restatement.

The text offers a receiver-defined explanation for communication as "any behavior that is perceived and interpreted by another, whether or not it is spoken or intended or even within the person's conscious awareness." Perhaps, to be more consistent with the chapters that follow, the definition should encompass also all behavior, absence of behavior, or attribution of behavior from which an observer abstracts a significant meaning. Communications, especially those examples which stand to most bewilder parties to an interaction between cultures, often are based upon the mistaken belief that messages have been sent, when in fact these "messages" may be totally the culturally-attributed meaning imposed and imputed by the observer. The definition is certainly an improvement over others by K.S. Sitaram and A.L. Smith (covered in previous ANNUALS) insofar as audience perception apart from communicator intent becomes the significant portion of the communication equation. This choice, in addition to making the receiver's cultural attributions more evident, also facilitates measurement of results of the interaction.

Condon and Yousef correctly decide to stress "understandable, correctable problems" in interactions which highlight "differences" between "cultures" as opposed to "nationalities," as important distinction. While national cultures eventually may derive a common *weltanshauung* or ethos, in many cases subnational differences may be more problematic than national ones. The authors heavily orient their analysis toward the identification of value orientations of various cultures. Their implicit assumption is that a disparity in values of intereactants from different cultures will disrupt the flow of ideas (and lessen interactive satisfaction?) within a particular *situation*. A pre-knowledge of salient values should ease *in situ* contacts between cultures, and this is the key premise of the entire text.

The "transactional perspective" on communication, which hinges more on image than on objective reality, is viewed by the authors to be critical for understanding an intercultural exchange. When self-images fail to coincide with projected images, misunderstanding is inevitable even within a culture. When the same condition pertains between cultures, this problem gains a new prominence.

Condon's influence is apparent in the choice of a second problem area, i.e., the "punctuation" of process-reality to provide meaning, as a further cause of message

difficulty. Other key problems are: the contradiction of command (the manner, often nonverbal, in which a message is conveyed) and report (content of the message); problems in gaining message feedback between cultures; and clashes or simply differences in values.

In this text, as in most other treatments, differences between communicator and recipient are expected to generate *barriers* to communication. A separate line of investigation should attempt to discover whether some cultures are more compatible than others; whether some cultural traits are complementary to traits from other cultures; whether awareness of differences will lead to keener attention to the message and consequently improve comprehension or even synergistically transcend ordinary meaning for a richer communicative experience than could be gained by remaining within a single cultural milieu. Edward Stewart's focus on "differences" as the defining feature of the intercultural exchange psycholinguistically sets the investigator looking for "breakdowns," "flaws," "misunderstandings" and "problems." A future text must seriously question at what points and under what conditions cultural differences become a communication resource rather than an impediment.

Hypothetical problems of intercultural encounter are posed for the student reader as a pedagogical device to effectively relate the novice reader to the book's theme. As with materials from Intercultural Associates, the naive reader is allowed to project his own values and solutions into these situations, only to find that his own meanings do not begin to satisfactorily explain the event being witnessed. These cases acquaint the student with the fact that differences exist between cultures. They demonstrate the dampening effect differences may have on interactive exchange. And they beg the question that a culture-specific knowledge could alleviate such misunderstandings. But, going unanswered is the question: Are there general rules to be learned, facts of a given culture aside, which enable individuals to improve their intercultural satisfaction and fluency of exchange? Or, as an educator, can such general rules be taught, and how?

One attempt to teach the neophyte how to relate to other cultures comes in the author's expanded listing of values which characterize a given culture (nationality? subculture?). The Brigham Young University materials also center on providing a cultural inventory, and cultural simulations and training sessions go on "experientially" to acquaint the trainee with particular new values. The provision of particular cultural values constitutes one end of a continuum with the inculcation of a generalistic approach to cultural interaction at the opposite end. To this extent, the Condon-Yousef treatment is largely atheoretical, in the Kluckhohn tradition which the value treatment acknowledges. Likewise, even to accept the more immediate goal of understanding particular values of particular cultures will leave the reader with a fuller understanding of American than Egyptian values. The foreign collaboration of the authors should have more enriched the resulting treatment than actually was the case. Otherwise put, the combined examination of values was broader than it was deep.

A feature of this text is its introduction of "rhetoric" as a topic of discussion. Since rhetoric typically is defined according to communicator intent, the juxtaposition of intercultural

communication with rhetoric should serve a heuristic purpose: in communication across cultures, can a sender not only concentrate on achieving an equivalence of meaning but also aim for an instrumental goal? ("The real issue here is one of equivalences. . ."). Or, rather, should the notion of rhetoric be adjusted so as to encompass the intent to render an idea so as to make it comprehensible to an audience of another culture while retaining an equivalent meaning and force? In America are inductive proofs most typical (Stewart, Glenn) or deductive ones (Condon and Yousef)? Curiously, "case particular" applications are offered to illustrate the American penchant for abstraction.

The greatest strength of the work may be in its off-the-cuff speculation: Can certain cultures complement others? Do value constellations necessarily affect every exchange? When A meets B, whose cultural pattern will predominate, and why? Or do syntheses arise, subject to differences in culture, personalities, situation (or time?)? Do difficulties of communication increase with time constraints (or task complexity?)? If nonverbal and verbal cues are inconsistent, is the nonverbal universally believed? Is the greater share a meaning conveyed in intercultural exchange brought about by nonverbal cues? Must the synchronization of verbal and non-verbal elements be taught simultaneously? Is physical distance between communicators connected in some way to the affective judgments the parties offer of each other? Is there a "deep structure" for nonverbal communication which renders particular differences insignificant? Do nonverbal traits correlate to a common value orientation? By knowing certain nonverbal traits, can a person accurately project to unknown traits?

The work studies houseforms as symbols (drawing, in the instance of Germany, on a paper by Mary Kenny Badami); it reconsiders the Sapir-Whorf language relativism "hard" and "soft" positions; it reflects on the merits of trying to identify with the alien culture *versus* the retaining of one's own cultural identity; it discusses simultaneous interpretation (for which Condon's International Christian University prides itself); and touches lightly on source credibility considerations, without offering many original insights. The conclusion that language, nonverbal behavior, values, reasoning patterns and rhetoric are of ascending orders of difficulty seems logical in light of this context.

The book deserves credit as a credible attempt to define the realm of intercultural communication at a low theoretical level for a beginning college audience. The perspective is readable, believable and more consistent than other "introductory" intercultural tests reviewed to date in this ANNUAL.

Nemi C. Jain and Richard L. Cummings (eds.). PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONFERENCE ON INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION AND TEACHER EDUCATION (Milwaukee: Urban Observatory, 1975).

The goals set for the 19-20 September 1974 Conference on Intercultural Communication and Teacher Education were: (1) to improve the quality of intercultural communication training provided to prospective teachers; (2) to build interdisciplinary links between education and communication; and (3) to provide directions for further work in these areas. "Intercultural communication training," in the context of this treatment, should be read as "racial relations."

George D. Spindler begins with an explanation of how cultural bias is at several levels of awareness: (1) personal culture exists without conscious awareness, and only by graphically pointing out any biases at this level may it be altered; (2) class bias (stereotyping) may be "expurgated" by an aware teacher if it becomes evident; and (3) the lack of a [functional] cultural context leads to incorrect attribution of meaning: particularly when attempting to project emotional states, distortion increases. Caution should be exercised at each of these levels to insure greater message fidelity.

Nemi C. Jain accepts the U. N. "cultural policy" premise that cultural differences enrich the human experience. He opts, therefore, to teach multicultural values even to the white, European immigrant-descended population of central Wisconsin. He introduces some of the experiences from human relations programs of neighboring states as relevant to the needs of Milwaukee as well. Donald Hadfield, of Minnesota's Task Force for Human Rights, uses "pluralism" also as a justification for such training. That such instruction is inherently "subversive" of prevalent values is his most significant admission. His new person:

> is not easily threatened by others who have different values and behavior than oneself and avoids human violence in words and deeds, cares for people more than things and places high value on diversity. This person recognizes the conflict that exists when placed in an authoritarian situation . . . . this person recognizes the impact of demeaning actions and words.

The participants differed as to whether intercultural communication workshops, particularly in a monocultural area, could instill such a new view.

Andrea L. Rich began with a warning that the existence of racism must be acknowledged in order to remain credible in the eyes of one's students. The fact that the dominant culture could not understand discrimination at "a gut level" lowers the credibility of that teacher even *when* racism is acknowledged.

Discrimination is evidenced in: (1) perception and prejudice; (2) stereotyping; (3) roles and role behavior; (4) beliefs, attitudes and role structures; (5) language; and (6) nonverbal implications of intercultural communication. That stereotypes are fostered by the mass media of communication, that a minority culture knows the ways of the dominant culture more than the reverse, and that linguistic behavior unknowingly transmits stereotypic reactions were several of her observations.

The PROCEEDINGS deal in greater depth than many other publications do with the statuatory introduction of a human relations program, its political sensitivity, its content and its probable impact. Therefore, from the standpoint of pragmatics, it deserves to be read by administrators as well as students.

Richard Hoggart, ON CULTURE AND COMMUNICATION (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), pp 111.

At first glance, the statement of purpose for the publication of six lectures, namely, "to look at the great variety of ways we have of getting in touch with each other, and at the assumptions which lie behind these efforts to get in touch about what our relations to each other should be," sounds too simplistic to impress. The reader who goes beyond the first two lectures, however, will have his or her patience amply rewarded.

Hoggart, Assistant Director-General of Unesco and Director for the Center for Contemporary Culture Studies at Birmingham, certainly bears credentials which should give him insight into problems and forms of international and intercultural communication. To my surprise, then, the collection started off very slowly, with general words about paralinguistic expression, signals, the way that one's words reveal his character and other casually-treated introspections. The conclusions, such as "sometimes one can communicate effectively through the spaces between words," or that a man's bearing communicates much about him, do not furnish much insight. I assume only that Hoggart as lecturer used these presentations to seek a *rapport* with his audience.

The second chapter does provide a tool for cultural self-analysis, however, and this might be of interest to culture-learning-through-literature affectionados, i.e., to search one's own written expression to determine its origins in church language, childhood environment, academic influences, and affectations. Presumably, by removing purely idiosyncratic traits, the remainder is a portrait of one's own cultural heritage. If enough people from various cultures with a high degree of written expression were to undertake this charge, the truth value of Hoggart's procedure would be more fully known: Could people strip away their own idosyncracies? Would the resultant characteristics be easily summarized and compared? Would the resultant precis be consistent with others within the same cultural (or subcultural) milieu? Would there be some basis of comparison between cultures? Would such comparison enhance culture learning? These methodological questions deserve more attention than Hoggart's lectures allowed him to give.

At this point one would judge that the book, at best, could help to heighten a student's sense of self, but that: (1) no advice would help to learn of the cultures of others; (2) no sure technique was offered to separate the cultural from the idiosyncratic; and (3) no suggestions were given for interfacing one's own cultural patterns with the patterns prevalent in other cultures. Literary critics would find more to learn from the early lectures than would intercultural communicators.

With the reading of Chapter Three and beyond, however, my judgment changed considerably. Hoggart began to view one culture through the eyes of another, and he hit upon a most interesting premise: When one first views another culture, he is struck first by contrasts with his own culture. These contrasts, rather than teaching you about the *other* culture, teach you only about your *own*. To the extent that Hoggart perceives this relationship correctly, the "contrast culture" approach of Stewart, as one example, cannot

suffice for culture learning. It may teach a person his *own* cultural heritage, but it is not a positive experience, and offers no substance to fill the vacuum of ignorance about the culture of the *other*. The appearance that the person has undergone "culture learning" is a case of overanticipation and strained eagerness to "know" the other culture in order minimally to relate to it.

A sketch of the French and American *ethos* makes excellent introductory reading for introductory college students, both for content and for implied technique: Americans live a "contract;" they express the belief in a future which is made alone by man's will, and "expectancy" is a feature of their outlook.

Hoggart establishes himself also as a keen observer of the United Nations, his place of employment. His lecture on international organization is the most insightful out of the entire series. When faced with the need to communicate content without commitment, the result is a stultified rhetoric.

> The United Nations agencies will no doubt go on producing . . . comic examples of their unresonant jargon. It is likely to appear whenever people are using a language not their own, but for the higher executive expression of the intentions of a large group of very differing governments, exceptionally trying to reach a common intellectual accord.

Hoggart's own style of expression, very consciously, is a cut above that which he reviews, the U.N. prose which "creates a world of its own, in which thought is castrated by conventional phrasing . . .[where] the prose moves, oozes, from one dead phrase to another."

When the author turns to broadcasting, he makes a case for absence of controls, and details a pro-change stance to be assumed by the mass media which, "like yeast," should grow into whatever proportions local governmental constraints will tolerate. The intercultural aspects of this lecture are not very conspicuous.

The concluding lecture combines the expression of Orwell, the cynicism of Cherry, and the human-interest insight of Hoggart to very eloquently pose the questions: (1) Is communication really possible? (2) On what grounds, if any, can two minds meet? (3) Is understanding ever a result? (4) If it ever results, is it least likely across cultures? His methodology, to correct the individual's self-expression prior to attempts to reach out to the world, provides a belated justification for the first two lectures.

Hoggart's themes are of great importance to college students and others interested in communication and culture, and Hoggart's style is an indication of his technique for cross-cultural understanding. If for no other reason than students should know his premises, i.e., that it matters to communicate and that communication is possible, or that personal experience can have more than a personal meaning, the collection is highly recommended for classroom use, particularly chapters three, four and six.

LANGUAGE AND CULTURE: A READER. Patrick Gleeson and Nancy Wakefield (eds.) (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill, 1968), 200 pp.

Gleeson and Wakefield have assembled, under one cover, some of the clearest and most interesting articles available on the relationship between language and culture. Their claim to acceptance lies not in the inclusion of articles original with the edition, nor with the selection of articles otherwise inaccessible. Rather, the collection is strong (1) for its areas of focus; (2) for the eminence and insight of its contributors; (3) for short, additional selections which support or take issue with the key essays; and (4) for the coherence of the resulting edition.

The editors begin with a three-fold justification for the presentation of the articles. First, the relationship between language and culture is so intimate and direct that no "fruitful discussion" of language can ignore the interaction of culture with symbol systems. Second, the authors' selections argue for cultural *determinism* of perception: language is passed down within a culture, and culture is then reinforced by linguistic categories and biases. Finally, the study of a given language "at its limits" leads to an understanding of the potentialities and limitations of the culture and cultural elements otherwise difficult to attain." From this point they present a case for cultural determinism of linguistic reality in their unit "Origins, Limits, and General Problems."

Sapir is used to lead off a discussion of the nature of language, relating that speech is not a primary function of the body as is walking, but rather a derived function which combines accidental characteristics of organs first used for other functions. Language, then is a "purely human and non-instinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions and desires by means of a system of voluntarily produced symbols."

Because speech is an arbitrary function, it must be taught from within a given environment according to imitation of significant others. Conventions of a given culture determine how the new language learner connects symbols roughly to corresponding features of the environment, yet not completely corresponding: If for each object there were one and only one symbol, experiences could not be transferred, since no idea could be phrased in terms of any other.

Thought precedes speech, and the perfection of speech is to express the thought at its fullest conceptual value. While language might improve the quality of thought by introducing greater abstract complexity to it, language can never be considered "conterminous" with thought.

Stephen Ullman argues that language is a "prism," shaping and determining the appearance of the reality that it surveys. This is the single sharpest statement of language determinism in the collection, although two essays by Benjamin Whorf explore this thesis with greater elaborateness. Ullman stakes his case for the determination of one's reality by his customary system of symbolization on observation of the absence of abstractions, class names and generalization in certain primitive languages. In general: "every vocabulary embodies a scale of values and a philosophy of life. . .the child assimilates [the concepts so contained] with

the mother tongue and accepts them as the natural way of viewing the world . . . ."

After Whorf and Langer reinforce the earlier views on the acquisition of language, Cassirer elaborates on the use of names of objects, events or Gods in order to control the forces of nature. This view of myth reinforces the view of thought implying the thing, leaving the word to effect it. I.A. Richards or Ali A. Mazrui could well have been included to elaborate on word-thought-thing relationships, or on words controlling matter, or Molefi K. Asante could have been referenced for his views on *nommo*.

The unit concludes with a reference to Wendell Johnson's views on general semantics, i.e., that "facts" can be no more than social conventions. Since powers of observation, the ability to assign symbolic meanings, and the connection of one person's symbols to another's meaning are all imperfect processes, sensations and their expression remain individual. An elaboration of what semanticists term "reification" is given for sports "barriers" such as the "four minute mile" by John Letz. The first unit is clearly the stronger of the two for a unit on language in the intercultural communication syllabus.

The "Uses of Language" unit is more diffuse than the other, especially as it seeks applications in contemporary media applications and in political doublespeak. Because of its looseness of focus, it is of equal interest but of less impact th n the initial section.

Benjamin Whorf is included again with a statement about the apparent differences in reality forced upon the Hopi Indians by the categories of their language. As the editors begin to dro,p into the background, Hockett makes a case *against* language determinism of perception, Weismann wishes for language differences to be considered a resource and derides "dead metaphors." His point that "philosophy *begins* with distrusting language" deserves further examination. Williams, with an examination of the fluency of "mountain speech," and Orwell, Lloyd and Carpenter who talk about political doubletalk, conclude the edition on an unfocused note.

The collection reads well, and the selection of readable essays, especially in unit one, provide great insight into the Sapir-Whorf (language determinism) hypothesis, and to word-thought-thing relationships. The editors' short commentaries are not of as much value as their brief related selections which follow the essays.

The collection is of use wherever language is of concern in the intercultural communication classroom. Its use should be as a supplement for other readings but, alone, it constitutes a sound introduction to the best-known writers on language and culture.

SOW THE WIND, REAP THE WHIRLWIND: HEADS OF STATE ADDRESS THE UNITED NATIONS. Michael H. Prosser (ed.) (New York: William Morrow and Co., 1970). pp.

For those courses in public address which include international speakers, SOW THE WIND should be considered as a sourcebook. The collection spans two decades of speaking by such figures as Nehru, Nkruma, Khruschchev, Tourre and Castro, caught more often than not in

settings with more than average ceremony. The speeches reflect moods of the U.N., ranging from bitterness through cooperativeness, to the cry of freedom of the newly-emerged nations.

While, in the tradition of HISTORY AND CRITICISM SELECT BRITISH ELOQUENCE or even the editor's work on Adlai Stevenson, more criticism might have been included, the lead essay and the editor's belief that interunderstanding is the inevitable result of international diplomatic contact provide a coherence to the collection.

Once priced at nearly one hundred dollars for two volumes, the price range is now within thirty dollars, and cassettes of many of the same speeches have also been marketed. These speeches should become the raw material for any study of international public address. Most are stylistically colorful, and many are of a level of idealism which is seldom reached in practice but which should continue as a goal for international exchange.

INTERCULTURAL ENCOUNTERS WITH JAPAN: COMMUNICATION - CONTACT AND CONFLICT. John C. Condon, Jr. and Mitsuko Saito (eds.) (Tokyo: Simul Press, 1974), 251 pp.

The bilateral (Japanese and American) conference on Communication across Cultures–Contact and Conflict, held at Mitaka's International Christian University during the summer of 1972, attracted some of the leading experts from the academic world in intercultural communication. Missing were the practitioners, with the exception of a small assortment of journalists, international student counsellors, and academicians who at times held intercultural communication workshops. The resultant collection of papers, then, reflects the bias toward the academic, i.e., generalized interest in the topic of the conference. As one participant at that conference, I hope to be able to place the edition into a perspective otherwise unobtainable by the reader. Hopefully, the proceedings of subsequent Japanese-American conferences (paralleled in the forthcoming CULTURAL DIALOGUES by Michael H. Prosser) will refine the initial exchange of ideas as reported by Condon and Saito. A reader with an interest in the characteristic patterns of Japanese and American communication, therefore, will be alert to the present collection, future conference collections, works like AMERICAN EDUCATION THROUGH JAPANESE EYES, and even a periodic newsletter put out by the students of communication of International Christian University which draws some brief but high quality essays.

The Condon-Saito collection, in noting that some 2,000 participants were involved with the conference, neglects "speech" as an area of specialization represented, when this area was well-represented, and when many of the speakers and American participants represented this academic tradition. "Interpersonal communication" or even "transaction," an idea which has little meaning for Japanese society, was central to the presentations during much of the conference. "Sensitivity" and "encounter," the applied side of "transaction," similarly seemed out of place at a conference which acknowledged, through Barnlund's paper, the difference in "private self" between the two cultures. The active role of Japanese students at the conference on a co-equal basis with American faculty, similarly, was a "contradiction." It is a good observation by the editors that "we believe that this conference could only have

occurred in Japan, and yet this was not at all a typical Japanese academic conference." The conference format, itself, was a crucible which caused the participants more closely to analyze the ingredients making up their respective cultures.

Condon's introduction was also the keynote address of the conference. Several guidelines are included which are followed somewhat faithfully in the collection: "communication" is to refer mostly to *interpersonal* exchange; communication will be considered as a *qualitative* and not as a *quantitative* matter; that intercultural communication has no connection with prospective agreement (witness the subtitle) of the exchange; *non-verbal* or quasi-verbal messages (messages with one content but a contradictory nonverbal cue) are pre-eminent in providing meaning or in mistakenly failing to provide it; and he focuses on four topics for more elaboration: (1) language and language behavior; (2) non-verbal behavior; (3) values; and (4) rhetoric, i.e., the culture's pattern for organizing ideas and resolving problems. These categories provide a preview for the reader of the Condon text reviewed earlier in this ANNUAL.

The *interpersonal communication* unit of the collection includes essays by Doi, Barnlund and Saito. While other papers could have been interchanged with these, at least the essays have enough substance to move the reader into a better understanding of the focus of the conference.

Professor Doi spoke about how "amae," the wish to preserve a protective relationship, as a feature of the Japanese personality, determines the shape and even content of Japanese conversation. As "mutuality," the Japanese try to feel out the other's position so as to preserve concord. From infancy, the American learns to increase verbalization to control his environment, whereas the Japanese child will rely more on non-verbal, almost intuitive, seeking of a result from concerned parents. The intercultural differences lead to a talk silence confrontation, an inquire-intui juxtaposition, and an opinion-consent contrast between communicants. Where Americans readily contradict, the Japanese prefer silence to disagreement.

Barnlund wonders whether having the technological means of inter-communication and global understanding is tantamount to achieving these ends. He allows that, even in simple matters and within a single culture, impressions of a fixed event differ widely. The variation in "assumptive worlds" between individuals creates a barrier to be reduced or overcome in any human interaction. Barnlund's notion of understanding, therefore, rests upon concordance in perceptual orientation, similarity of belief systems, and a similarity of communicative style. By consciously articulating the cultural norms of a society's "collective unconscious," intercultural communication might be facilitated. Barnlund then goes on to attempt to measure to what degree the two cultures (American and Japanese) characteristically reveal their "self" to others, the nature of "touching" patterns in interaction within the cultures, and the cultural patterns of defense of the two cultures.

Mitsuko Saito is an expert in translation and in simultaneous translation, and is responsible for creating a reputation for ICA as one of the few institutions in the world capable of offering adequate training in this area. Her great success in this area is the substance of much

of her lecture. The requirements for interpreters, how simultaneous interpretation constitutes a profession, and techniques for training in this area are considered.

The second unit, on Cultural Values and Communication, begins with a study of the images the two cultures hold of each other. The image of Japanese, in the view of Kato, is more constant than an image of Americans can be. His conclusions summarize the findings of research proposed by the Japan-U.S. Educational and Cultural Exchange Committee. Japanese who are exposed to Americans and the reverse are examined through diaries, preference surveys, attitudes expressed toward artifacts and cuisine, and other indicators. Images which affect international communication on the level of the general public are Kato's focus.

Nakaue, with remarks on the categories of deference reflected in Japanese interpersonal communication, develops a series of generalizations about the use of honorifics. Condon identifies American abruptness in terminating structures and relationships; he contrasts American inclusiveness to Japanese exclusiveness and he leads into a more systematic discussion of a "value approach." His discussion is more elaborate in his AN INTRODUCTION TO INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION, although it is not so specific for the comparison of Japan and America. His most interesting question is: How many values are needed in order to characterize a culture adequately?

By means of content analysis of newspaper letters to editors, Yoko Yamada assesses the values contained in some 300 letters to the ASAHI SHINBUN. Kiahara presents a comparison of Japan and Costa Rica based upon surveys. A role-playing item in the original conference was not included in the collection, although it was used with effect in Tokyo.

At the conference, the film "Seven Sumarai" was to be compared to "The Magnificent Seven," on which it was based. Instead, the films presented at the conference were a Paul Pederson videotape on intercultural communication at the University of Minnesota, HADADA-NO SHIMA ("Naked Island") KUMO-NO-SUJO ("Throne of Blood"), and "Seven Sumarai" without "The Magnificent Seven." Kaneto Shindo, "Naked Island's" director, addressed the gathering in an item included in the collection, as did "Throne of Blood's" director.

"Naked Island" is a splendid introduction to the Japanese cultural patterns in traditional society, being effected without a word being spoken (witness the emphasis on silence in various selections). This message told by means of silence was defended as the fulfillment of the filmic medium. "Throne of Blood" compared closely to Macbeth, played against an austere background. Here, too, the nonverbal aspect was prominent.

Unit Three, Language and Culture Relationships, led up to the symposium on "You can't go home again." In the lead statement, Fumiko Koide defends Japanese as a language from the stereotypic belief that it is highly difficult. Only the script is difficult, and the pronunciation and grammar is relatively easy. Imada goes into Japanese phonology and writing, to elaborate on the preceding statement. The more interesting papers, however, are those by Neda and, later, by Shigeta.

cultural context leads to incorrect attribution of meaning: particularly when attempting to project emotional states, distortion increases. Caution should be exercised at each of these levels to insure greater message fidelity.

could not understand discrimination at "a gut level" lowers the credibility of that teacher even *when* racism is acknowledged.

Would the resultant precis be consistent with others within the same cultural (or subcultural) milieu? Would there be some basis of comparison between cultures? Would such comparison enhance culture learning? These methodological questions deserve more attention than Hoggart's lectures allowed him to give.

"contract;" they express the belief in a future which is made alone by man's will, and "expectancy" is a feature of their outlook.

the collection, although two essays by Benjamin Whorf explore this thesis with greater elaborateness. Ullman stakes his case for the determination of one's reality by his customary system of symbolization on observation of the absence of abstractions, class names and generalization in certain primitive languages. In general: "every vocabulary embodies a scale of values and a philosophy of life. . .the child assimilates [the concepts so contained] with

figures as Nehru, Nkruma, Khruschchev, Toure and Castro, caught more often than not in settings with more than average ceremony. The speeches reflect moods of the U.N., ranging from bitterness through cooperativeness, to the cry of freedom of the newly-emerged nations.

perspective otherwise unobtainable by the reader. Hopefully, the proceedings of subsequent Japanese-American conferences (paralleled in the forthcoming CULTURAL DIALOGUES by Michael H. Prosser) will refine the initial exchange of ideas as reported by Condon and Saito. A reader with an interest in the characteristic patterns of Japanese and American communication, therefore, will be alert to the present collection, future conference collections, works like AMERICAN EDUCATION THROUGH JAPANESE EYES, and even a periodic newsletter put out by the students of communication of International Christian University which draws some brief but high quality essays.

seeking of a result from concerned parents. The intercultural differences lead to a talk silence confrontation, an inquire-intui juxtaposition, and an opinion-consent contrast between communicants. Where Americans readily contradict, the Japanese prefer silence to disagreement.

appearing to be rude. It is a key point that many papers originated at ICU, including the two prvious items. These form the prelude to a series of student reports.

Neda's entertaining account of Japanese face-saving indirection discusses the alternatives available to saying an outright, offense-giving 'no.' Sixteen ways are detailed which, in discussions following the paper, proved to be less than exhaustive. The discussions after the papers, in many cases, explored dimensions which might have been more fully pursued by Condon and Saito, if not in commentary, then by including excerpts from the question sessions. Shigeta pursues a different kind of indirection, namely, of using ambiguity to avoid appearing to be rude. It is a key point that many papers originated at ICU, including two previous items. These form the prelude to a series of student reports.

After a statement on simultaneous translation by Muramatsu, Condon moderates a final panel on "After-Shock," or reverse culture shock. Condon's introductory statement involves a critique of the conference and, by extension, the collection of papers from the conference: (1) the conference focused on characterizations of cultures rather than on the contacts *between* them; (2) that communication between cultures is possible and desirable; and (3) that communication problems between cultures are capable of solution. These common focal points are contrasted with the experience of sojourners "coming home."

Five panelists, three Japanese and two Americans, offered impressions which have some value in an experiential, case-study format of instruction. The statement by Clifford Clarke is the most elaborate, but a number of good responses were offered to audience questions.

The collection is not as fully focused as an authored, or even a more vigorously-edited collection, might be. And the collection has strong points and weak ones. With these reservations, the collection is of use for introductory communication classes wich seek to focus on a handful of key cultures for relatively in-depth study.

## NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES RELATING TO INTERNATIONAL AND INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

Corinne K. Flemings
Assistant Editor

Conference on German in Contact with Other Languages
Essen, Germany
December 1975
Information from Dr. Carol Molony, Gesamthochschule
Essen, 4300 Essen, 1, Postfach 6843, Germany

**EAST–WEST CENTER**
Communication Institute and Culture Learning Institute Workshops
Honolulu, Hawaii
1975–1977 schedule

Cross–Cultural Studies of Emotion, 1–8 August 1976
Foreign/Second Language Learning
Bilingual Education
Culture Learning Through Literature, 1977
Cultural Aspects of Educational Leadership, 1 August–19 December 1975; 15 January – 15 June 1977

Information from Meg White, Program Officer, East–West Communication Institute, The East–West Center, 1777 East–West Road, Honolulu, Hawaii 96822

**HUMAN SCIENCES IN ASIA AND NORTH AFRICA**
30th International Congress
Mexico City
3–8 August 1976

Information from John A. Dent, Editor *Berita*, Department of Journalism, Temple University, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19122

**THE INTERCULTURAL RELATIONS AND ETHNIC STUDIES INSTITUTE OF RUTGERS UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION**
Intercultural Communications Conference
New Brunswick, New Jersey
28 May 1975

Focus of meeting: to "veer toward a multilingual, multiethnic gathering and collecting of ideas under more universal categories."

Sessions included:

1. "Prescribing the Sequence of Instructional Strategies in Transcultural Training Programs to Reduce Cross–Cultural Anxiety and to Enhance by Acculturative Integration During the First Six Months of Residency Abroad."
2. "Intercultural Communication in the Global Context: Focus on Transnationalism": need for global education at all levels to minimize "strong adherence to national and cultural idiosyncracies which tend to break down the promotion of a world or universal culture, specifically in the aspect of communication.
3. "Structural Approach to intercultural Problems": need for assimilation of immigrants into other structures of a new society besides the cultural.
4. "Intracultural Differences, Implications for Assimilation vs. Situational Change Theories": negative effects of regarding ethnic groups as monolithic.
5. "Role, Affect and Identity: problem of identity as influenced by the interrelationship between what one does and how one feels in a pluralistic social framework.
6. "Rhetoric: An Area of Interference in Cross–Cultural Communication": Rhetoric, because it is consciously, rather than instinctively, learned is culturally coded and therefore represents a communication interference when imposed upon a different culture.
7. "Language vs. Communication": need for recognition of cultural non–linguistic signals which contribute to communication problems.

Information from Dr. Eliane C. Condon, Science and Humanities Department, IRES Institute, Rutgers University, GSE, New Brunswick, New Jersey 08903

**INTERDISCIPLINARY LINGUISTICS PROGRAM, UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE**
Interdisciplinary Conference
Louisville, Kentucky
6–8 May 1976

Many sessions dealt with topics of interest to intercultural communication scholars. A sampling:

1. Languages for Special Purposes ("Teaching English to French Business Executives," and others)
2. Bilingualism ("Language Use in Multicultural Classrooms," and others)
3. Interlinguistics
4. Language and Social Science ("Psychological Aspects of Second Language Acquisition," and others)

"Abstracts" of conference is available from Robert N. St. Clair, Interdisciplinary Program in Linguistics, Room 214 Humanities, University of Louisville, Louisville, Kentucky 40208

An ad hoc executive committee to serve on year will help the chairman set guidelines and publicize the group's activities in preparation for the 1977 AAS meeting in New York City.

Information from John A. Dent, Chairman, M/S/B Studies Group, Department of Journalism, Temple University, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19122

**INTERNATIONAL READING ASSOCIATION**
21st Annual Convention
Anaheim, California
10–14 May 1976

Sampling of sessions, workshops, discussion topics:

1. Language Experience and the Relevance of Meaning
2. Linguistics and Reading:
   a. "Learning to Read Bilingually"
   b. "Problems of Speakers of Nonstandard English"
   c. "Acquisition of Decoding"
   d. "Psycholinguistic Processes in Fluent Reading"
   e. "Psycholinguistic Development in the Acquisition of Reading"
   f. "Dimensions of Comprehension"
3. Looking at the Reading of Bilingual and Dialect Populations and Implications for Classroom Instruction

and

Sixth World Congress on Reading
Singapore
7–19 August 1976

International program of speakers dealing with, among other topics, teaching English as a second language and presentations concerning methods of teaching reading in a variety of countries.

Information from Charles Putney, Public Information Officer, World Congress, IRA, 800 Barksdale Road, Newark, Delaware 19711

**MALAYSIA/SINGAPORE/BRUNEI STUDIES GROUP**
Organizing meeting
Toronto, Canada
20 March 1976

At the Southeast Asia Regional Council (SEARC) meeting of 17 March 1976, the M/S/B Studies Group was formally approved; on the following day the board of directors of the Association of Asian Studies (AAS) accepted a recommendation for the group's recognition.

The group presently issues *Berita*, a quarterly, and are tentatively considering summer programs, translation and bibliographic research projects, encouragement of more Malaysia and Singapore oriented panels at AAS conferences, and an annual dinner. The group will keep close ties with and coordinate projects with the Indonesia Studies Group.

**PANAMERICAN ASSOCIATION, INC.**
National Student Conference on Multi–Cultural and Multi–Ethnic Education
Towards a Fourth World of Humanism
New York, New York
28–30 May 1976

Goal: "to attempt to develop an awareness amongst our fellow–students of the importance of Multi–Cultural and Multi–Ethnic Education as a universal rather than a parochial approach to American Education." A general topic discussed: "Apprehending the processes of Acculturation: Through New Research Methodology"

Information from Student Conference Secretariat, P.O. Box 143, Baldwinsville, New York 13027

**SOCIETY FOR INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION, TRAINING, AND RESEARCH (SIETAR)**
Second Annual Conference
Montebello, Canada
22–25 February 1976

Theme of conference was Values, Transactions and Resolutions in Intercultural Relations. The program was characterized by the representation of a broad cross–section of cultures and by a particular emphasis on bi– and multi– culturalism in Canada. The conference was particularly valuable in the integration of international and domestic cross–cultural issues.

Copy of the program is available from SIETAR, 107 MIB, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15260

and

Workshop on counseling the Culturally Different
New York, New York
21–22 May 1976

Aim: "to provide persons who work in an intercultural counseling, advising, or other helping relationship with the opportunity to experience and analyze that process in a workshop

setting." The training design utilized "a cross-cultural coalition role-play model developed at the University of Minnesota by Dr. Paul Pederson and colleagues."

information from SIETAR, see above.

Also, see "Stanford University School of Education. . ."

**STANFORD UNIVERSITY'S SCHOOL OF EDUCATION IN COOPERATION WITH THE BECHTEL INTERNATIONAL CENTER AND THE SOCIETY OF INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION, TRAINING AND RESEARCH**
The Institute for Applied Intercultural Communication
Stanford, California
17-27 August 1976

Goal: to bring together "specialists in intercultural communication and cultural pluralism to offer for the first time an interdisciplinary approach in a multicultural environment for concentrated study and specialized training."

Information from Clifford Clarke, Institute Director, Stanford University,
P.O. Box A-L, Stanford, California 94305

**THE TEMPLE OF UNDERSTANDING**
Spiritual Summit Conference V
Cathedral Church of St. John the Divine
New York, New York
19-24 October 1975

Panel discussions with follow-up seminars, meditative rituals, musical and dramatic events, an art exhibit, and a meeting at the United Nations, addressed by Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim, made up the conference. Discussion topics included:

1. The Unity of the Human Community
2. Ecology and the Spiritual Environment
3. Creating the Future Community
4. Women, Religion, and World Community

A joint-statement of Temple spiritual leaders, read at the United Nations, expressed this position of the organization: "We affirm a new spirituality, divested of insularity and directed towards a planetary consciousness."

Information from the Temple of Understanding, 1345 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036